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JULY 26, 1982

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COVER

The future of the PLO

The devastating military defeat of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Lebanon may, ironically, prove to be its political salvation and the first glimpse of hope in its struggle for a homeland for the 4.6 million Palestinians scattered around the Middle East. As Israeli tanks kept their stronghold in Beirut, Yasser Arafat remained defiant. —Page 24

COVER PHOTO BY A. S. KAPLAN/STYLING



Trochilid waters

Hope had been high for peace between Ottawa and big labor, but optimism seems premature. Not, however, that either side knew where it was headed. —Page 12



Mount Everest climb

Amid much media hoopla, a Canadian mountaineering expedition left the country last week to start its lastly sponsored trek up the sacred mountain. —Page 41

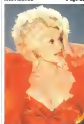


Shultz's smooth entrance

In contrast to the style of his predecessor, incoming U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz displayed a reassuring calm and finesse at his confirmation. —Page 22

CONTENTS

Adventure	45
Arts	2
Business	34
Comp	56
Canada	8
Crime	45
Education	17
Film	53
Followup	8
Letters	4
Medicine	58
Newman	3
People	46
Press	43
Religion	55
Science	38
Theatre	54
World	16



Working 11 to 7

Swirling shales from 9 to 5 to nights, Dolly Parton describes her performance in *The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas*. As a woman, she is "perfect." —Page 49

LETTERS

Sinking our destroyers

Your July 12 cover story (*New Fear and Anger in a 32c-Per-Cent Society*) was apt. However, your statement about the "immense collapse" of our country is probably worth a bit too strongly. We have a fighting bunch of workers left and, unless the present situation continues for a long time or our Democratic cabinet in Ottawa unanimously lets our country slide down the hill, we will probably last until the three Canadian destroyers (Trudeau, Lalonde and MacEwen) are sunk — GERRY VAN WAGEN, President, Whelan-Wilcock, Regina

For 14 years the crew has been trying to tell Captain Trudeau and his officers that squandering the ship's fuel would eventually cause problems. Now the captain and his chief engineer, Allan MacEwen, stand on the poop deck telling the crew to pull together on the one because the fuel is all but spent.

— CHARLES FRASER, Kings County, N.S.

A case of poor hearing

It was with some interest that I read a *People* item in your June 26 issue concerning certain pop songs, which, when played backward, contained clear, devious messages. I realized that, without listening themselves, many people would agree with David Muzzes of Capital Records, who said he "couldn't hear a bloody thing" when these records were played backward. Well, Mr. Muzzes



Opposing forces in the downward slide

must have very poor hearing. I have a cassette employing *Shoreline* by *Howes* taped backward, and many satanic phrases are audible, including such lines as "There's power in Satan's sex machine," *Jesus* by *Satan*. As a Hinduist, I listen to nothing but rock and am a fan of Led Zeppelin's. However, I think people should realize what is going on.

— T. L. WILCOX, Forest Grove, B.C.

The terrifying uncertainty of MS

Your article *Anxiety on Multiple Sclerosis* (Medicine, July 18) was a well-balanced piece of reporting on a very complex subject. It captured the terrifying uncertainty that people with MS face daily as well as their hopes for the future, due to research. The Multiple Sclerosis Society of Canada has allocated almost \$1 million this year to fund a wide-ranging research program. The society also funds programs to assist people who have the disease and their family members and to inform Canadians about multiple sclerosis. It is truly one of the most sophisticated diseases of our time, but, thanks to your article, your readers will know what their relatives, friends and neighbors who have MS are facing.

— ALISTAIR FRASER, National Rheumatic Society of Canada, Multiple Sclerosis Society of Canada, Toronto

The real goings-on in Ottawa

Well done, Charles Gordon! Your July 12 column (*Badgers in Search of an Encore*) finally reveals why the federal minister of finance has failed all Canadians. It is perhaps the most accurate and revealing media coverage of one of Allan MacEwen's budget conferences ever reported.

— GENEVIE PROUDMAN, Smiths Falls, Ont.

PASSAGES

SENTENCES: Rev. Sun Myung Moon, 68, founder and leader of the Unification Church, is 18 months in jail and a \$25,000 fine, for income tax evasion, by U.S. District Court Judge Gerard Gertel, in New York. "Despite eloquent pleas for leniency," Gertel said he decided on a prison term because a suspended sentence would have incurred the public's indignation. Moon and his co-defendant, Takara Kamijima, 41, who received a lesser sentence, will remain free as personal reimbursement bonds pending appeal.

SLISTITE: Zail Singh, 66, as the seventh president of India and the first member of the minority Sikh community to hold the position. Singh, formerly home affairs minister, was nominated as the candidate for India's ruling Congress (I) Party by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi for his unwavering loyalty. He was voted in by an overwhelming majority and will succeed in the best President Sargajit Roy on July 25.

DEED: English actor Kenneth More, 67, of Parkinson's disease, in his London home. A Second World War navy reserve lieutenant, More exemplified the brave but brutal military man's awareness in such lines as *Druch for the Sky* (playing the legendary legend air ace, Douglas Bader), *A Night to Remember* and *North West Frontier*. In 1966-'67 More became founder in a new program of television vignettes with a starring role in *The Forsythe Saga*.

DISMEMBER: Ontario Hollywood super-agent David Begelman, 60, from his \$300,000-a-year position as chairman and chief executive officer of the United Artists division of M-G-M-U-A, after seven of the films that he initiated flopped at the box office. Begelman is leaving just before the publication of *Indelible Exposure*, an exposé of the 1978 forgery scandal in which he was convicted of grand theft while he was still studio chief at Columbia pictures.

PLEASSED-GUILTY: Mirko Petrovic, 26, to expertise, landscaping and four years' charges in connection with the April detonation of Edmonton businessmen and sports entrepreneur Peter Pocklington, 64, 43, at his home. Petrovic, a slight, quiet Yugoslavian immigrant, described Pocklington as "the most gay I ever met" in his confession. He also admitted that Peter's wife, Eva Pocklington, was his intended target and that he had originally planned to demand \$1 million for her safe release. His plans were scuttled when she escaped from the residence 12 hours before he was wounded by police.

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FOLLOW-UP

Turning off the tap of Soviet emigration

The Soviet shift in Soviet-U.S. relations has claimed a number of high-profile victims—some overt and technological trade among the most prevalent, but almost overlooked. In the domain of dentists has been the dramatic slide in rates of Soviet emigration from more than 57,000, Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union plunged last year to only 9,400. And current figures are running at levels 30 per cent below the 1976 peak. Even more for Volga Germans and Armenians—the two other principal groups to leave—emigration has fallen 50 per cent, respectively. In the Soviet Union, 350,000 emigrants in the past decade—has been reduced to a trickle.

For Soviet Jews the shutdown has been accompanied by other Gorbachev developments. Duvli cards have been issued to Jews, but they are not being used. The Jewish Center in Moscow is closed, and the Jewish community in Moscow is being dismantled.

In the '80s, the Kremlin will be looking for foreign and domestic scapegoats: U.S. imperialism and the Jews

place, the numbers have dropped more than 30 per cent over 10 years. As a deterrent to potential emigrants, dozens of distinguished Jewish scientists asking to leave have been stripped of academic degrees. To apply for a visa is to engage in "unpatriotic behavior," thus risking revocation of credentials. With the loss of a degree, a conference on Soviet Jewry was held in Washington recently, often got salary cuts, demotions, access to libraries, seminars and laboratories, and a right to publish. "We are being destroyed as scholars and as breadwinners," said a letter signed by 33 Moscow academic scientists. "Our knowledge is locked away to decay."

These obvious inroads have intensely sparked debate about what motivates the Kremlin in easing the emigration pendulum and about how much leverage the West can exert. Some analysts believe that liberal migration is allowed only when Moscow wants something from the West—the SALT II treaty, high-tech trade, grain, credits—so fears that such benefits may be

taken away. Indeed, when Jewry, Carter withdrew SAIT from the Senate after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, emigration dropped precipitously. Other factors, however, including the influence of the West, says Paul Cantor, a senior U.S. state department Russia intelligence analyst: "We help. We hurt. But we don't determine. We foster ourselves to think we are the determining factor." Adds Toronto Liberal MP David Smith, chairman of the 22-member parliamentary committee on Soviet Jewry: "Reading the Kremlin is a bit like reading the mind of a saboteur."

Even if the Russian administration chooses to push the issue of emigration harder, it has few cards left to play. Arms control is too important for many in the West to ignore. The West has long boasted to human rights, but when it comes to the US economy, most of Moscow's other needs—coordinating equipment, sophisticated computers—can be purchased from the Germans or the Japanese. The Soviet Union's Foreign Minister, Andrei Kozyrev, notes Spencer Oliver, still director of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, "in that without the Europeans, the United States has very little leverage." And the Soviet Union's foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev, still secretary of state for human rights, was far more alarmed by the war over the Falkland Islands than by the crushing of Solidarity in Poland. Nor does the Soviet Union have much to say about the arms reduction talks now being played on the good guy. When 300,000 Soviet troops occupy Afghanistan and Soviet-dictated martial law reigns in Poland, not even an invitation to such permits in apt to change the West's jaundiced view of Moscow.

The outlook for the decade is no brighter. Kremlinologists expect the '80s to pose serious challenges for the emerging Soviet leadership: slow economic growth, reduced living standards, labor unrest and fierce competition between regions and nationalities. Concludes Columbia University's Seweryn Bialer: "The political choice will be an increase in authoritarianism. The Kremele will be looking for foreign and domestic scapegoats: U.S. imperialism, and the Jews I am far from optimistic."

—MICHAEL PERMAN

—MICHAEL POWERS

CANADA



Knudsen, Gay Lane and Maynard 441 for the final large island political significance.

Some fragile peace pipes inside a circle of wagons

By Gordon Leung

Alberta's sequestered, Western Canada Alliance Concept party (WCCA) pulled back from the edge of self-destruction last week. More than 800 angry members from across the province drew past summer fables chattered about the party's "unstable" members into the north-western city of Red Deer to order that the party's executives halt their enlightening and bickering and start working toward taking power in the province—end, indeed, the entire party. The party's "unstable" members, however, convinced already, translated the

The really pleased. These people are making real progress," observed Doug Christie, 36, the Victoria lawyer who founded the group in 1973 and who was kicked out of Alberta last fall by the vcc executive. Sitting in as a guest, Christie said "It's a miracle. At the beginning, I almost went 'Oh, oh, Back to Square 1.' But they rallied round 1."

think the party is firmly established now. The membership cuts across many lines." Christie had just completed a strenuous 11-day mission through Alberta trying to restore unity. "Everywhere we went, the members were angry about the fighting," he said. "They told us, 'We've got to get the party back on the rails.'"

The party derailed in early May when a behind-the-scenes rift on its independence stand, which in turn, marked a deeper power struggle among the political executive, suddenly exploded into public view. The party divided into two camps. One was represented by WCO interim leader Gordon Kester, who started the society with his election to the post of president of the party in the 1982 elections of February 1983. At Kester's behest, the party's former leader, ousted by the party's board when the fight broke into the open, A. Mungai, bitter struggle ensued. Mungai accused Kester of straying from the party's original intention by playing down independence. Kester accused Mungai of trying to disrupt the party by failing to heed the party's call for moderation on the independence issue.

Before leaving the mad, was flying Maynard charged that an influential group of Marmones, led by Keeler, was running the party. Since only six of the 24-member board were Marmones, Keeler replied that the charge was the vilest form of bigotry. "If you want to destroy a man, you attack his area of strongest value, his religion," said Keeler. "That's what they were trying to do." In addition, three letters were sent to constituency executives by another WCC member that made a variety of accusations. One drew attention to the fact that some board members had criminal records (one for theft, another for drug trafficking) and a second letter urged religious sympathy that Keeler was basing on the fact that the letters were

Then, the stage was set for a raucous convention. But the members wanted no more plotting and scheming. "I came here to get this bloody show on the road," said Harold Andrews, a weathered 47-year-old landfall farmer. "After the Old-Dickbury hysteria I was selling 30 memberships a week. Last month I sold two. As far as I'm concerned, if this thing doesn't go, that'll be the end of it."

The convention wrangling started even before the chairman hammered the first gavel. Elmer Kestler, former leader of another separatist group, Ward-Pad, which had merged with the WOC after eventually throwing its support behind Kestler in the primaries, arrived at the convention to find his mem-

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bership had been revoked—for the third time. Although granted "guest" status, Knaus refused to enter. Instead, he stood outside the hall and loomed in the foyer waiting for the next lineup to re-enter. "It's not going to compromise," he said. "In the end of a career I'll walk in, I'll go in standing on my feet. No lies after Knaus arrived, his membership, along with four others, revealed the previous stunt, was reinstated after the hall was surrounded that the only other party in Canada that revokes memberships in the Communist party. Knaus entered with a standing ovation from half the audience."

That was one of the day's high points. The meeting opened with a paper read by a British Columbian Gitksan tribe member, James Stens, wearing a Blackfoot headpiece. He inspired the group to believe his message, but concluded, "It's difficult to war with an eagle when you work with turkeys." From there on, it seemed the convention was called to disorder. It began with a paper moved by the party's board to amend the agenda with a series of five unspecified reports from the directors, which amounted to motions of censure against five party directors. But the enraged membership defeated the first motion nobly, and the remaining motions were quietly set aside.

From there the discussion moved on to discuss the party's finances. Many opened the book, but the motion to ignore the accounts was passed. After the openness offer it was noted that the voter constitution required annual disclosure. It turned out that after taking an \$186,000 in nine months, the party had \$114,000 in the bank. Spending more than \$8,000 in an Edmonton account created during the preperge days.

Throughout the discussions and wrangling, the delegates moved themselves in procedural arguments. A special chairman, Warren Peters, an international director of "Socialism International" and a California resident who happened to be visiting Canada for the Calgary Stampede, was called in to provide unbiased direction. But even Peters' efforts to develop a little help-Governed by Roberts' Rules of Order, the delegates became embroiled in a series of points of order, points of privilege, points of information and calls for questions. The comic slowly turned into a chaotic scene, which resulted in an undisciplined transgression.

One delegate could be offended by people who don't know the difference between a point of privilege and a point of order. Another opened that it seemed that never in the history of a political party had so few delegates as present for as long. But participants benefited as one possible suggestion that their de-motivation efforts resembled those of the New Democratic Party. Nevertheless, they persisted. "We're new. A lot of these people haven't been through this before," Christi noted. "What you see at these microphones is that people should have power." But by the end of the first day, some were asking what it meant. "A party that has trouble conducting its own business at a convention will have difficulty running a province-wide election campaign," wrote Calgary Herald political columnist Geoff White. "And this convention has shown this party is nowhere near capable of forming a government—on matter how fervently its

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Conventions in Red Deer—warring areas before the first day.

members feel they must put things right." Nevertheless, the fervency carried the day, and, by the end of the second day, the convention machinery had shifted out of first gear. In the process the commitments started making progress through a 99-page red leader filled with resolutions, policy statements and a revised constitution covering a range of topics, from independence and political-control measures to sponsoring the restoration of the lark and hanging as deterrents to criminals and giving western Canadians the "indisputable right to keep and bear arms."

Through the interminable microping, it seemed the only source of relief was the tabling of hats, bumper stickers, pins, posters and mock postage stamps on sale outside the convention hallways. One RT brewer and Marj said declared KOD ALBERTA RAY PIERCE and showed rat-trothed caricatures of

Pierre Trudeau and Marc Lalonde. A green cap showed COME WEST TRUDEAU beneath a solitary tree with an empty noose hanging from a limb. The RT bumper stickers proclaimed FREE THE WEST and LET THE EAST HAVE TRUDEAU. Another sticker read HANG TRUDEAU AND A RT T-shirt showed a black widow spider crawling across a Canadian flag with a passage emblazoned OUR MATERIAL PITY.

Apart from the dissembling, Kester, in a welcoming address, warned delegates that they must be prepared to fight an international conspiracy. "We are at the crossroads of the future of mankind," Kester began. "We have reached that point in the history of the world where a small few wish to decide every aspect of our lives—at their own fearful whim." And, he continued, "These forces who are working to destroy us are throughout the world and are in control of vast numbers of mega-corporations, banks, media, and various union functions, as well as political movements. Their members and supporters are not just found in Russia, Benin, New York, Ottawa and Edmonton, but they are also found here in Red Deer—right here at this convention." He later told reporters that the convention had been infiltrated by "agents" dedicated to destroying the party, blaming them for the opening-day confusion at the microphones.

Kester drew parallels between the local infiltration of the Parti Québécois and the turmoil in the west. Refusing to be more specific, Kester declared "These forces are working to destroy us throughout the world. We in the west are fighting a battle with incredible odds."

Still, Kester faces one more task. With a new, fresh board of directors and a semblance of unity, the leadership now holds the political either to repeat the error or heal the party completely. Having discovered that democracy is hard work, a weary membership departed for home knowing that in one month's time, they would reconvene for another significant test, the selection of a leader who can guide the party to its destiny. How far its many interests and stomach over its raw edges.

Whether Kester, or any of the other candidates now considering running for the leadership, can achieve those ends is still the party's mystery, aided by many one of the party's 140,000 members. ☐

No bridge for troubled waters



Parrot and Bennett: The gap on the public sector could be closed against the private.

By Ian Anderson

They were 36 profoundly troubled men and women who struggled out of the Canadian Labour Congress headquarters last week into the oppressive Ottawa heat. Amid media reports of a new spirit of cooperation between government and labor, the members of the CLC's executive committee had privately come to the unavoidable conclusion that modification was just not possible. Instead, they hoped to keep the talks going with Pierre Trudeau's government and buy some time—time for their two million members to reach the same conclusion they had reached, that wage controls were a political fix for an ailing Liberal government that was less than an economic panacea for the nation. Across Canada suggested last week, they are waiting for the moment CLC President Dennis McDermott warned them would inevitably come, when frustrated people become angry people.

The CLC's closed-door meeting had the markings of a quiet turning point for the country. At a moment of economic crisis, neither labor nor government chose to seem the initiator. In silence, Labor Minister Charles Cullen argued early that Ottawa must make some effort. If only a token, to indicate that the federal government sincerely wanted to forge a deal with labor. But Cullen's advice was drowned out by an increasingly powerful cabinet subal that believes Liberals can brazen their

way back to popularity by staring down the unions. An even greater mistake remarked privately last week, the best thing that could happen to the Liberals today would be an illegal public-sector strike.

Labour is not yet prepared to take the bait. The hard strikes might, to rein in its radical, principally the Canada's Public Service of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers and Pierre Bouchon, president of the Public Service Alliance

Some in cabinet believe that the Liberals can brazen their way back to popularity by staring down the unions

of Canada, whose belated hard-line public statements have almost overshadowed McDermott's attempts to sound at least hesitant Parrot was almost alone in opposing a second meeting with Trudeau, while moderates will go to almost any length to show their members that all avenues were explored before the situation was abandoned as hopeless. McDermott can accept no form of wage restraint until Ottawa moves to lower interest rates, which the CLC views as the principal villain in the economic drama. Ottawa will not risk lowering interest rates in fear

of the bottom dropping out of the dollar. As union leaders scoffed last week, the positions are so fundamentally different as to be seemingly impossible to bridge.

The key to any new CLC strategy will be to convince the private-sector unions that the wage control gun now trained on the public sector will soon be turned on them. That will take some months, but the congress views Ottawa's impression of the super-profit eating for public-sector unions as just the start of a national campaign. Nova Scotia has already fallen into line, and British Columbia is expected to follow shortly. Any move by the B.C. Government Employees' Union to strike while the province's lowest expires July 31 is expected to provide a rallying point around which B.C. Premier Bill Bennett can finally frame an election issue for his shaky Social Credit government. When the premiers meet Aug. 24 in Halifax, the CLC believes that all 30 provincial governments will be addressing to some form of the federal government wage guidelines.

Canadian labor leaders are going through a baffling transition period, argues Kristin Shannon, chairman of the influential Canadian Free Press Report. On top of the current government-labor crisis, unions face complex internal considerations as four generations of workers vote against an array of means from pensions to the introduction of new technology. Wages have become only one part of the bargaining equation, Shannon reasons, that it has become impossible to speak with a single voice. Specifically, a radical change has occurred in the age-old industrial system on which collective bargaining rests. "The old union leader could easily identify his enemy," Shannon explains. "In an arena in which it is harder time identifying that enemy because he's across the table." And dealing with Japan is impossible from a seat in Toronto, as United Auto Workers discovered when the spirited negotiations with Ford Motor Co. of Canada last week, in a striking position statement, Ford said that it might pull out of Canada if wage concessions were not forthcoming.

As the union leaders quietly acknowledge, their membership has not come to grips with the fact that the recession is taking massive structural changes in the economy. Leaders in the automobile, steel, and forest industries do not expect additional unemployment when the recession finally bites its way through. Bennett recently reminded labor leaders in his province that full employment in the boom sector could not be expected until U.S. housing recovers. In his view, the unemployment situation will persist for several years. Jack Murro, the



Lead-off Dofasco workers: 25,000 steelworkers applied for unemployment insurance

Western Canadian director of the International Woodworkers of America, told his colleagues that, for the first time he could remember, members of his union were applying for welfare because their unemployment insurance had run out.

Such dreary facts take a toll on the labor leaders. "No one could know what we feel now," states Gerard Dozinas, Canadian director of the United Steelworkers. "It's a tragedy for our people." In July alone, Dozinas says, 25,000 steelworkers have applied for unemployment insurance (this does not include 2,500 workers in Hamilton where, one source, Dozinas plans to lay off nearly 500 this fall). Yet wage concessions seem purposeless to him. "We have already in the past four or five years bargained for less than inflation. To go any further down, in my opinion, is debilitating to our economy. It reduces our ability to buy goods, and that is damaging."

If an opportunity has been lost to bring labor into a national consensus on building a stronger economy, the situation is dire. Since the labor leaders told a House that Ottawa has a secret economic formula up its sleeve, they view scepticism by their members alone as futile. And they view themselves as partners, not pawns, in the economic game. The prime minister is now reaping the whirlwind for his years

of neglect of labor. The July meeting with McDermott was the first in five years, while the cabinet committee on labor relations tends to meet only to consider crisis threats, not future negotiating. Within the powerful Privy Council Office, the government's nerve center, the public servant in charge of labor relations also has the western development fund and emergency planning.

The unfortunate result to Ottawa's cooling labor strategy has been to unite the moderate and radical leaders around the one thing they could jointly oppose, wage controls. At the same time, the moderate leaders feel they have not been given any reason to stick their necks out and argue for voluntary restraint. With neither side apparently prepared to rise above the myopic goals of survival politics, Canadians can expect a month or two of shade-dancing before the autumn freeze-set. The only thing that might ensure a serious search for mutually acceptable solutions would be an even steeper downturn in the economy, one that would scare the pride out of everyone. Until then, the charade continues. ☐

*At work, used a Gallup poll. In 1981, only 34% of all workers in the U.S. were satisfied with their pay. In February, when only 20% of the public approved of his performance as prime minister. His highest score in September 1980 was 30.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

Death at the end of the line

Until last week, the fight over health-care cuts in British Columbia was largely a battle of statistics between two powerful opponents: a resource-strapped provincial government and the 130 B.C. hospitals that received less money than expected in the \$1.2 billion allocated to them this year. Then, on July 11, a 67-year-old barber, B.C. man, Malcolm Stevens, who had been waiting since April for heart surgery to bypass a blocked coronary artery, died of a heart attack—a single death that sharply increased worry both in the B.C. legislature and in the press over a possible decline in medical care.

Stevens' death received attention far beyond his grieving family's because, only days before he was admitted to Surrey Memorial Hospital on July 5 with chest pains, he called The Vancouver Sun to complain about the long wait caused by patients whose heart conditions were not considered serious enough to justify emergency operation. According to his cardiologist, Dr. Peter Richardson, Stevens lived and died waiting for an elective operation on a list that was already too long and lengthening as cathetics cause nurses—who are needed to care for heart patients—to leave their jobs.

The restraints introduced with the 1980 health-care budget mean, in addition,

Richardson: In the process of dying



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Lack of a health insurance system, which the B-C government has also served notice to hospitals that it will no longer pick up their deficits—it will, instead, allow one grant per hospital, and no more if the money runs short before the end of the year. B-C Health Minister Jürgen Mielert, one of those conservative ministers who have been in charge of the health ministry, has suggested [he told the legislature that the patient would have increased his chances of survival if he had quit smoking after his condition was first diagnosed], produced the results of a ministry investigation and denied that the payments had contributed to the death toll. He also said that the ministry had availability of open-heart surgery in the province since the restraint program was instituted," he said.

Open-heart surgery can cost between \$15,000 and \$25,000, but, Nicolson claims, with the number of such operations increasing to 1,450 in British Columbia this year, the province's health care system is facing a "massive" shortage of qualified technicians—technicians and operating-room nurses—not money, as the chief cause of delays. At Vancouver's St. Paul's Hospital, one of the three B.C. hospitals performing open-heart surgery, Dr. George D. Smith, who has received support for his position from Dr. Alfred Gerrens, head of cardiovascular surgery, says the hospital is still doing rates of 50 operations a week, just as it was before the strike. "If the situation were reversed, we would like to see the 500 B.C. patients waiting for open-heart surgery operated on within two months; a six-month delay has been common for the past two years, dating back to before

Rat endocrinologist Richardson is angered by Slovans' death. Referring to study done on Vancouver patients between 1974 and 1975, when the waiting period was 52 days, he says, "The length of time patients have to wait for elective surgery has doubled and it's getting worse. One of my patients had to wait 10 months before going down to surgery."

"Emergency surgery wasn't requested because the damage had already been done," says Richardson. "On that weekend, he was in the process of dying."

Health Minister Nielsen believes that the new system—which also means hospitals can no longer do a head count of patients and charge the government at a daily rate for each of them—is both more efficient and less expensive. All he has to do now is convince a public transfixed by the death of a man who ran out of time waiting for an operation he needed.

—Милостив Писарин, Володимир

MONTREAL

A taxi war in black and white

Leaning heavily on a historical case, Jorge Velazquez lifted the beam of an ashtray known to dangle from the entrance and exit sides of the bullet that pierced him last night, holding a version and parlaying it to the foot. Last week's attack, allegedly by two black men—some 10 years after Velazquez had publicly joined other Marxist taxi company managers and admitted that his Bloomingdale Taxi Inc. does not yet have Hispanic drivers. "We're looking for disciplined drivers who will keep their cabs neat and will work seven days a week, 10 hours a day," he told *Midweek's* "Where the Hellinists see our regulations and writings list, they go elsewhere."

The rioting that ended Vidéon's racketball days is the most violent expression of anger so far in a taxi war that is pitting 1,500 black drivers against 34,800 whites in a city that is oversaturated with taxis in the best of economic times. (In Montreal, 34,000 cab drivers share 3,028 cabs; Toronto, with a comparable population, has close to 8,000 drivers and 2.5 cabs.) While fewer fares and shorter trips may well be the result of the recession, white drivers are blaming black and bluish are fighting back. Last seven-year cabler veteran Michel Poirer: "The lion's gone off—but don't blame us Hartnag."

The bomb has been ticking since March, when the federal and provincial governments changed the rules for passenger pickups at Dorval Airport. He



Wellman: Let's face it, they all look alike.

Gians—whose Montreal population has climbed to 32,000 from 2,000 since 1960—largely because of a special immigration program sponsored by the Quebec government in 1960 (Maclean's, Oct. 31, 1980)—had flocked to the taxi stands there, eventually winning up to 90 per cent of the lucrative \$18 to \$26 trips to downtown Montreal, even though the drivers had to endure long queues and

15-cent-per-trip tariff imposed by Transport Canada. In March the rules changed. Airport privileges were limited to 225 cab drivers, and the non-

Native cables: color fast blacks made long advances toward women.



transferable \$1,000 annual permits were drawn by lot. Only three Harbans were left with Dorsal operations. The rest moved downtown to join the already overcrowded city bus ranks.

There, they were not welcomed by many of Montreal's 40 cab companies. Despite Quebec's Human Rights Commission, owners found ways to cut black drivers out of the action. Lucien Benhamou, vice-president of the Montreal Taxi League, admitted to *Moon* that "the cab companies are very tricky. If a Haitian wants work, he needs a godfather in the company. If there isn't a Haitian already there, they'll tell him they'll put him on the waiting list—it's that kind of an evil business."

Don't ask, don't tell, says the city. The city's Department of Public Works has taken over Montreal newspapers, radio, billboards and news shows. The Montreal Gazette found that four of 13 companies surveyed refused to hire blacks, while another six customarily agreed to clients' requests for a white driver. It seemed that no one had proof, but everyone had a story to tell. Many whites claimed that blacks do not know the city, that they run dirty cars, overcharge and make rude advances toward women passengers. Charged With: They also led their own parents to each other so someone would be the chauffeur. The city's demand, not can be out on the streets. But let's face it, they all look alike, so who can tell?"

For their part, the Haitians charged company managers, dispatchers, colleagues, clients and police with racism. Said Pierre: "The police handed out parking tickets we got in the front of the line. We were the only ones to get an 'ab' sub washed. They're regularly giving an \$50 tickets." Police deny the accusations on both sides. Montreal Councillor Marcel Léves, tax adviser to the director of the traffic department, said: "We're in the section for 33 years. We're not racist. We're not giving him that permit to anyone else. We have no more problems with Haitians than with any other group. They don't cheat any more than anyone else and they don't get any more tickets." Added Léves: "It's the whole tax business. I understand that's not. They're not pushing."

By week's end Haitian cablois were demanding that the government withdraw tax licenses from companies that do not hire blacks. And a seemingly repentant Serge Veiloux went home from hospital saying: "We're going to have to sort this thing out. I want people to understand it wasn't Haitians who shot me. It was just two fellows. If we can't get that across, we're all going to be in trouble."

—ANNE BRINSE in Montreal,
with Cindy Barrett in Toronto



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Iranian soldiers in recaptured Khomenei's shah. Khomenei's battle plan unclear

number of Iraqis, apparently showing greater determination in defeating their captive will than in carrying out Hussein's original pre-emptive invasion. Iraq also retained by bombing three cities in western Iran. By the weekend the two armies were at a standstill, having suffered indistinguishable casualties and loss of material and issuing wildly conflicting claims of battlefield success.

Khomenei's battle plan was not clear. Presumably, if Baath could be surrounded, the rash offshoots to the south could be captured and their oil sold as part of Iran's \$100-billion war reparations demand. There were also fears that, having achieved victory in the Baath region, Khomenei would sweep to occupy Kuwait and the poorly defended oil fields on the south shore of the Persian Gulf, putting a threat to Saudi Arabia. The least noticeable war impact in the south is a desire to push Iraqi artillery out of range of Iran's western borders.

Khomenei has also demanded that the more than 100,000 Iraqi Shi'ites living in exile in Iran be repatriated. The repatriation of such a sizable group into a population that is 65 per cent Shi'ite and largely unrepresented in the Iraqi government might be suicidal to Hussein, who belongs to the more moderate Sunni sect. The revolutionary overthrow of Hussein by Iraqi Shi'ites has, in fact, also been made a condition of peace by Khomenei as a necessary step in establishing a sympathetic Islamic republic in Iraq. Observers feel that Hussein's efforts to achieve a ceasefire would be the Iraq takes over a three-year term as leader of the world's socialist nations at a conference in Baghdad in September.

At least some of these objectives may be achieved. Early in June, Saudi Arabia offered Iran \$10 billion to agree to a ceasefire, an offer that might be repeated. Moreover, Hussein's political position is very precarious. Further refusal of the Iraqi army might force him to resign or be purged, though not necessarily by the populist revolution Khomenei wants. A more likely outcome would be his replacement by another member of the ruling socialist Baath party, which is anathema to the ayatollahs.

For his part, Hussein has taken what measures he can to forestall his removal from power. To defeat accusations that his government is elitist, he has encouraged token representation from Christians, Kurds and Shi'ites. After ousting a dozen disloyal lieutenant-officers, he has reshuffled the army and given top staff a greater say in military decisions, thereby looking

april de corps. As for the Shi'ites, repression has temporarily eased. And Hussein can count on the ancient enmities between Arabs and Persians to keep him out of the line. These same racial and national animosities also outpace the Iraqi Shi'ites' and for revolution, if that means subversion in an otherwise peaceful Iraq.

But the surface of a pan-Islamic brotherhood based on persecution or ideology has already proven to be a major threat to Middle East stability. The murder of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat last October, the violent suppression this February of a fundamentalist uprising in the Syrian town of Hama and the short-lived Iranian-backed Shi'ite coup in Bahrain last December all testify to the potency of Khomenei's gospel. In Kuwait, even though it shares the highest per capita income in the world, the Shi'ite majority supports Khomenei. Public displays of his image are forbidden, but many people still carry his photograph with them or have it hidden in an underground Arab League or al-Azhar movement comprising 300,000 Shi'ite Muslims has proclaimed him their religious leader.

After maintaining a strictly neutral position for weeks, the United States revealed on Friday that preliminary talks were in progress for joint military exercises with "friendly Arab nations" on the Persian Gulf. But discussing all UN resolutions as "too much wait-and-see," Khomenei attacked these conservative Arab states for remaining silent about Israel's invasion of Lebanon and playing into the hands of "the great Satan."

Indeed, in the shifting sands of Middle East diplomacy, a significant alignment suddenly emerging on the one hand, defending the true faith are Iran and the Arab Brotherhoods. From the Gulf, Algeria, Libya, Saudi Yemen, Syria, Iraq, even Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, the Gulf States and, incredibly, Israel are defending the status quo and Western oil interests.

Khomenei's latest demand against Jerusalem is not just a recent phenomenon or, for that matter, a Friday in Ramadan has been called "Jerusalem Day." Last week that day was celebrated in Tehran to the wail of air-raid sirens. Obviously is the danger, these days, that "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, we are coming to you," is a reference to a Shi'ite shrine in central Iraq, incidentally, with distances, an Iranian highway signs. As the children of Iran's Revolutionary Guards danced through Iraqi marshlands outside Baath chambers, Al-Baath in great haste the world wanted to see what would be the charismatic ayatollah would reap next.

With William Loeferer in Washington, Rick and Deane in London and John Wright in Beirut.

BRITAIN

The tip of an espionage iceberg

Already seriously embarrassed by the security aspects of the matter in the Queen's bedchamber affair (see following story), Britain's Conservative government this week faces disclosure of a major spy scandal. Unlike the Anthony Blair case three years ago, which concerned a mainland newspaper, current inquiries may reveal a nest of spies still whispering their secrets to the Soviet bloc.

First indications that something might be badly wrong came last week with the appearance in court at Hereford, a country town on the Welsh border, of 44-year-old Geoffrey Prime. Described as unemployed, he was charged with concealing information that might be "useful to an enemy," between 1955, 1960, and Dec. 31, 1961. No further details were given, and Prime was remanded on bail until Nov. 30.

The alien, balding Prime was in court

Prime was not the only suspect. It became clear the government was steeling itself for a major spy scandal

for a mere eight minutes. But the lengthy demand was a sign in which the government was steeling itself for a war. Prime's home address—Pittville, Crescent Lane, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire—Cheltenham is also the home of the Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ), secret intelligence gathering that makes the bulk of the British security services and one of the main eyes in the NATO security network. The inside of its atmosphere building is crisscrossed with the latest, sophisticated electronic equipment for eavesdropping on the Soviets and their allies and cracking their codes. Among its 20,000 staff are agents scattered throughout the world. Their reports—and those from allied agencies, including those from Canada and the United States—are handled on a round-the-clock basis.

It has emerged that Prime worked for several years at GCHQ, employing his front business in central Kent. He was recruited to work there, according to a one-man team known as "the" and former colleagues at GCHQ were among his best customers. As he worked for them in his role under the security force, he was often seen reading Russian literature.

WORLD

Waging war behind a desert veil

By Mark Cummings

Western minds, religious crusades belong to the past. Muslim media managers, Billy Graham sermons, even sectarian violence in Ireland, pale beside the bloody memory of entire nations—Christians, Jew and Muslim—melting to liberate the holy city of Jerusalem. In the Middle East, however, religious passions smolder as before. Last week Ayatollah Khomeini erupted again as Iranian troops invaded Iraq for the first time in their two-year war. The purpose of Operation Ramadan was the "liberation of Quds (Jerusalem) from Zionist domination through the liberation of Iraq." Although other ends would also be served, the basic goal of the ayatollah's crusade was clear: a coalition of Islamic republics inspired by the fundamentalist principles of the Shi'ite sect whose recognized leader is Khomeini himself.

War makes strange bedfellows.

Less than two months ago Israeli—and the Soviet Union—was supplying arms to Iraq, while the U.S. Navy Phantom jets were being equipped with spare parts captured by the North Vietnamese at Da Nang. On the other side, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have poured nearly \$30 billion into Iraq alone since it invaded Iran in September, 1980, in an attempt to oust Khomeini's out-

rageous revolutionary gospel. After quick initial victories and the capture of the Iranian city of Khomenehshahr on the Shatt al-Arab waterway between the two countries, the Iraqis bogged down. Little changed until May, when a resurgent Iranian army, fired up by the fanatical patriots and often masked Revolutionary Guards, recaptured Khomenehshahr and drove the Iraqis back to the border with heavy losses on both sides. Confronted with an enemy to whom loss of life was irrelevant, Iraq President Saddam Hussein pleaded as a condition, the offered unilateral ceasefire and withdrawal proposals which Iraq ignored, demanding instead full reparation for war damages.

Finally, last week, an estimated 60,000 Iranian soldiers crossed the border northeast of Baath, Iraq's second-largest city. Despite a United Nations resolution for a cessation of hostilities, the Iraqis marched on. But 15 to 30 km from Baath, they were stopped by an equal



and would chat enthusiastically about Russian plays he had seen in London.

No one, it seems, thought this pause for all things Soviet was worthy of comment. It was not until he came to police notice as a totally different matter—suddenly interfering with three teenage girls—that the security aspect came to light. Someone close to him, it has not been revealed who, informed police that he might not be his only illicit preoccupation—and alarm bells began to ring in Whitehall.

Moreover, Prince is not the only suspect. A briefing of reporters in the House of Commons at week's end made it clear that the government is steeled itself for a scandal of major proportions. Intelligence sources indicate that there were suspicions that a "mole" was at work in CND as long ago as 1972. Then Prime Minister James Callaghan ordered an inquiry which found the reports to be baseless. Now inquiries are focusing on two senior members of staff at that time who had a substantial measure of control over the probe.

As back-bench Tory and opposition MPs clamored for a further explanation during the weekend, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher submitted a statement in the Commons on Monday. As during the emergency debates over the Falklands crisis, Labour Party Leader Michael Foot was granted time for a statement of his own.

One of the matters of concern revealed in questions tabled for the government is the security of CND's computers, which are said to be vulnerable to tapping. Another is the efficiency of British security practices in view of the allied state in GDR. Washington's involvement is particularly significant. It is known to rely on British expertise while supplying assistance to Britain in the form of electronic know-how. Not far from GDR is another building, and to be run by the US National Security Agency, that houses equipment capable of tapping any telephone in Britain.

All this adds up to a major problem for the Thatcher cabinet, which, until the twin scandals broke, was riding high in the polls with 52-per-cent support from voters. Some ministerial bloodletting seems almost inevitable, and the prime candidate for a sacrificial offering is Home Secretary William Whitelaw. Though the Foreign Office probably has the closest links with CND, Whitelaw is naturally responsible for domestic security, and his hard-line stance in this regard has not been fair has already made him an easy target. Such a scenario presumes, however, that the government can control the flood of suspicion and innuendo washing over Westminster—and at week's end that was still very much open question. —**REYNOLD DALY** in London.

An unexpected royal visit

The changing of the guard ceremony at Buckingham Palace will never seem quite so impressive in the future. The massive invasion in London's Daily Express last week that the Queen had awakened to find an unemployed Irishman in dirty jeans and T-shirt sitting on her bed shattered once and for all the formidable image of these marble-clad sessions. It also caused a famous inquest reaching as high as Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and reportedly leaving the Queen herself in high dudgeon over lack of official care for her safety. What the weekend's shock for a member of her staff afterward, would have happened if the man had been a terrorist?

"The Queen is not amused," blared the *World Express* around a picture of Her Majesty looking as if she walked



The Queen at Buckingham Palace garden party: don't mention burglars

she were back in the days when hench literally would have relied for such negligence. Indeed, as the *Express* commentators scrambled to reveal more details of the story, a picture took up of police arose scarcely believable in the light of recent assassination attempts on several world figures. For one thing, the intruder, named in the House of Lords as Michael Fagan, 31, had been arrested only a month earlier for a similar escape: entering the palace and stealing a bottle of wine. For another, an off-duty policeman actually saw him skimming over the 4-ft-6-in. rope-topped palace wall. The man reported the incident personally to the police substation within the palace perimeter. But the compromised duty officer was so slow to react that no one was found.

The police slipped up again after the intruder had gained easy entry through an open ground-floor window to—of all

places—the room containing King George V's famous stamp collection, reportedly worth up to \$26.4 million. An alarm went off twice in Fagan, finding the inside door locked, left by the same window. But the flashing light was lastly switched off by a duty officer with the remark, "It's that bloody alarm in the stamp room again."

In protest of the woman he was described to his mother as "my girlfriend, Elizabeth Regina," the man later claimed the broad palace corridors, encountering a cleaner. But she assumed he was a workman and said, "Good morning." Her greeting was politely ignored.

From then on coincidence took a hand. The armed police sergeant who stands guard all night outside the Queen's bedroom (and considerably in

charge) had gone off duty as usual about 6 a.m., when the first palace staff turn up. The footman normally in that area was out—walking the Queen's corgi. Prince Philip, who sleeps in an adjoining room, was not disturbed. So it was that the Queen opened her eyes at about 7 a.m. in her elegant silk-paneled room to find the scruffy intruder opening her curtains and calmly seating himself on her bed.

By all accounts the Queen kept her nerve—too well. She managed to phone twice to the palace police switchboard. But her voice was so calm that no one realized the urgency. She stayed for her married guest for more than 20 minutes, mostly about her family. Then, when the man asked for a cigarette, the Queen, who does not smoke, took the opportunity to phone again. This time she asked why her previous calls had been ignored. Shortly afterward, how-

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keeper Elizabeth Andrews arrived. She was followed by footman Paul Whybrow, and they held the intruder until police turned up—18 minutes after the Queen's last call for help.

While the suspect roared at Westminster, the Express called for Home Secretary William Whitelaw's resignation, and The Times wondered if there would not have been an "official conspiracy of silence" had the Express not revealed the intrusion. Scotland Yard appointed Assistant Chief Constable John Dellow to investigate the police failures. One sergeant had already been transferred to routine duties.

In all, there have been six serious breaches of security since Buckingham Palace over the past year. In June, 1983, three German terrorists climbed the wall and spent the night in the grounds, under the impression that they were in Hyde Park. In August a man who claimed to be an admirer of Princess Anne was found in the bushes. In September a youth entering an air gate was arrested at the palace gates. In December another man was found in the gardens. And last month a man with a 30-caliber desert tried to charge past police into the grounds.

Historically, there is a precedent for the bedroom incident. In 1850 a 17-year-old hawkeye, Edmund Dora, was found crouching in Queen Victoria's dressing room, a few steps away from where she was sleeping.

Duties at the palace are not considered arduous, nor Brian Holliday, assistant editor of Police Review and a London police spokesman, says he has been given to young men waiting for promotion examinations or to officers needing retirement. In the past, he added, one policeman had been found in bed with a maid when he should have been guarding the Queen's bedroom.

With 600 rooms and 400 staff, many of them part-timers, Buckingham Palace is a security nightmare. But at work and the Queen had agreed to accept a round-the-clock armed guard. The director of Public Prosecutions, meanwhile, faced his own constitutional nightmare: facing a charge. Technically, Pagan may be guilty only of trespass, whereas in British law it is a civil offense, not a crime. To complicate matters, the Queen is head of the judiciary so could hardly give evidence. A deeply embarrassed Thatcher is due to report further to the Commons this week. Meanwhile, as the first of the queen's palace garden parties got under way, attended by Thatcher and her husband, Denis, a court official had a timely word of advice for these guests selected to meet the Queen. Don't mention burglars, he said.

—CAROL KUSSNER in London

NAMIBIA

A faltering breakthrough



Cuban exiles in Angola: another war card in the Namibian negotiations

For the past five years Namibian independence has been like a nightmare in the hypothetical non-white's recurring pain which has stubbornly defied solution. Last week, however, following the latest in the interminable series of talks between black Africans, South Africans and free Western countries, diplomats cautiously announced that "a breakthrough" had been made. Although some observers treated the announcement with the skepticism normally reserved for media-all statements, U.S. state department officials talked as though a general war was finally in sight.

The sudden optimism followed two weeks of complicated negotiations in New York aimed at ending the guerrilla war in South-West Africa, otherwise known as Namibia, and giving the South African-administered territory its independence as a nation sometime next year. Theory insists a truce must be worked out, but some observers expect that a ceasefire could allow the warring armies of SWAPO (South-West Africa People's Organization) and South Africa in August and that elections could be scheduled by March. As a move in that direction, United Nations Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar was alerted by members of the contact group—the United States, Canada, Britain, France and West Germany—that "all parties to the negotiations have accepted the principles concerning the constituent assembly and the constitution for an independent Namibia."

Should arrangements continue to go well, the UN will come up with a Security Council resolution for the implementation of independence. This will include arranging a ceasefire, installation of a UN peacekeeping force of 1,500 troops to ensure that both sides remain in their bases, a slow reduction of the number of South African troops and elections for an assembly to write a constitution for the new nation.

In Paris, however, hopes for a speedy conclusion to the dispute quickly cooled when SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma announced that "No agreement has been reached."

However, the big question is how to vote



JAMES O'HARA

reckoned yet." The SWAPO, a radical and still undecided issue is exactly what form of electoral system will be used in the 104-assembly elections. It is a problem that has engaged negotiators since the beginning. Originally, the Western nations proposed a dual system of elections, half by proportional representation, half by election in single-member districts. That plan has been shelved, but there has been no agreement on a substitute.

Another wild card in the Namibian deck is the removal of 15,000 to 20,000 Cuban troops in Angola. The Cubans withdrew was not on the table in New York, but Pretoria has warned that it would not automatically remove its troops while the Cubans remain on Namibia's doorstep. The notion of a Cuban withdrawal as a sine qua non came about because of former U.S. secretary of state Alexander Haig's concept of a worldwide Soviet threat and his adoption of Henry Kissinger's theory of "linkage," which has suddenly joined the Namibian issue with Cuba's presence in Angola. And it is now a "fact of life," says Christopher Thompson, the Canadian member of the "contact" group that, along with Nujoma, "is a parallel track that is up to the Americans, the Anglians and the South Africans."

Washington has considerable leverage with the Lusaka government, the least of which is the \$700 million worth of predominantly oil business it did with Angola last year. But the Angolans, as well as many neighboring black African nations, are leery of the "linkage" concept. For its part, the U.S. has a Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola party wants to keep the Cubans for two reasons.

To keep it up against the opposition UNITA (Machado Uniao for the Total Independence of Angola) group, which has a buffer against marauding South African troops. Ironically, the very Cuban troops the Americans want to dislodge are also protecting Angolan oil interests, such as those of Gulf Oil in the province that, as Thompson allowed, "The Americans would probably prefer to be over there protecting themselves."

Throughout the negotiations South Africa has kept a low profile. (Because it will not deal with SWAPO, it was not seated in New York, preferring to negotiate through Washington.) But that does not mean Pretoria is giving anything away. Indeed, notorious for sneaking in the South, it has made clear that any breakdown in the final negotiations is due to U.S. inability to play the promised Cuban card. Sam Nujoma: "We can only tell how sincere the South Africans really are when they reveal the final document."

—JAMES O'HARA in New York

Nicaragua

Trouble on the border

The setting was a news conference in Paris. But the atmosphere was as thunderous as one of the ravenscapes storms (at least Central America) at this time of year.

Nicaragua, charged Janis member Daniel Ortega, is the target of a "violent invasion" sponsored by the United States and Mexico. The invasion is the latest in a series of attacks on the Sandinista government. The army was probably uninvited, but it was severely an appropriate word for the barrage of invective between Washington and Managua last week.

As Ortega was seeing a \$10-million weapons order for the President Francisco Morazan's Socialist government, President Ronald Reagan was assuring Honduran President Roberto Somoza Cordón of a \$10-million increase in a \$10-million military aid package already pledged. Honduras could count on the United States to help repel "terrorist attacks," Reagan added. For his part, Somoza accused Nicaraguan forces of attacking Honduras.

It was not clear at week's end who was causing the trouble in the warring swamps and scorched plains along the Honduras-Nicaragua frontier. But the exchanges were not limited to words. Honduras' foreign minister, Juan Antonio Somoza's national guardsmen, known as Somercas, have occupied training camps within Honduran territory since their 1979 defeat. The Sandinistas claim that they seek regular forces along the border with Honduras and CIA support—charges that the Hondurans steadfastly deny. Nonetheless, since May 5 more than 60 Somercas and 40 Sandinistas have been reported killed in border skirmishes.

"These are thousands of small groups, many of whom stay near the country and build up an arms supply," said Somoza. Somoza, a Nicaraguan official, said the Sandinistas are preparing to present the impression of an internal insurrection. It's very well done, we're not dealing with a bunch of amateurs."

The attacks came at a time when Managua faces increasing isolation. Following the election of Somoza



Right-wing rebels took to Florida: publicized defections

Cordón last November, military power in Honduras has been concentrated in the hands of hard-line Gustavo Alvarez, a former head of the secret police and an avowed enemy of the Sandinistas. He has refused to attend talks set up to defuse border tensions. As yet, the Sandinistas have been hit by a series of badly publicized defections. The most recent was that of Daniel Pineda, the famed "Commander Zero" of their 1979 insurrection. Pineda, and to have become disenchanted with his partner role in the bureaucracy, has joined forces with other disaffected officials among them the former head of the central bank and the former ambassador to Washington—and associated himself as president-in-exile. Pineda has lost one of his old allies the regime's publicity. "He got more play in The New York Times last week than the new baby Prince of Wales," grumbled Hagar. "He's a good man, but he's being used."

Critics charge that the Sandinistas are strengthening up to the task. They're now large loan negotiations and a \$300-million loan provided by the Soviet Union for agricultural and hydroelectric development. The Sandinistas reply that they are also borrowing \$150 million in Western Europe. "We are attempting to be a convinced country," complained Ortega last week. "But the act of U.S. policy seems to be to make us end up the other camp." The word of war, as well as the border raids, continues.

—ALAN NELSON in New York



UNITED STATES

A smooth entrance

By Michael Posner

Round and smooth, a wise old steve named George Shultz—President Ronald Reagan's nominee for secretary of state—relaxed himself before the Senate foreign relations committee last week for confirmation hearings. When he rolled away two days later, after flawlessly fiddling questions across the foreign-policy spectrum, the 64-year-old president of Bechtel Group had become the most popular man in Washington. By Thursday he had won unanimous confirmation in the Senate and by Friday, after a Rose Garden swearing-in ceremony, the nation's 66th secretary of state was already ensconced in his seventh-floor office at Puffy Bottom for a quiet lunch with his family.

It may be his last moment of serenity for some time. From the Middle East to Central America, crises seem to proliferate like summer weeds. The resourceful Shultz—who held three separate cabinet portfolios under President Nixon—will need all his know-how to steer the Reagan administration safely through the diplomatic minefields.

Just where he intends to guide U.S. policy was not precisely clear from his Senate testimony. What impressed the committee and the nation was less what Shultz had to say on any given issue than the manner in which he said it.

Cool and cautious—and never less than polite—the former labor economist defended the administration's foreign-policy performance down the line, even where it is known to diverge from his private opinions. In contrast to his predecessor, Alexander Haig, Shultz was deferential, modest and low-key. Even senators suspicious of Shultz's too-long business or fearful of Bechtel's intimate financial relationship with Arab countries were charmed. "I've been impressed by your openness," said Senator Chris Dodd (D-Conn.). "You've been candid where conflict was needed and you've been evasive where evasiveness was probably the best response."

When Shultz saw fit to disagree with his interrogators, he did so in matter-of-fact tones, suggesting that reasonable men are entitled to reasonable argument. "I disagree with you on many issues," Senator Paul Tsongas (D-Mass.) told Shultz at one point. "But I'm enthusiastic about your appointment. You seem that foreign policy has to rise above partisan politics." Replied Shultz: "I do feel very strongly that our foreign policy benefits from having a continuity over the sweep of the decades. And it can only have that continuity if it is broadly based, which means bipartisan."

If Shultz broke any ground, it was on how U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East ought to be implemented. Were there,

Shultz at hearings: cool and cautious

however, his remarks differed more in spirit than in substance. Still, more explicitly than any previous Reagan administration official, George Shultz cited the Palestinian issue as "a central reality," adding that the Palestinians' legitimate needs and problems must be resolved—"especially in an all-things-Israel perspective." While reaffirming Washington's commitment to the Camp David framework, Shultz intimated that "representatives of the Palestinians themselves must participate in the negotiating process." Did that imply U.S. recognition of the PLO? No, responded Shultz, "not unless they get off their genteel look," recognize Israel and accept UN resolutions 242 and 338—the accepted basis for a wider settlement. As for who might represent the Palestinians in the meantime, Shultz was non-committal. He proposed only that the representation be legitimate.

On his ties to Bechtel, which now sees three former executives at senior levels of the Reagan administration—Shultz, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Deputy Secretary of Housing & Kenneth Cuccinelli—Shultz pledged to divest himself of all company-related investments and remove himself from "particular issues" affecting Bechtel. The only testiness of the hearings came when Senator Alan Cranston (D-Calif.) referred to a Bechtel offer in 1975 to sell nuclear technology to the Brazilian government. Cranston's complaint was that Bechtel was more concerned about a million-dollar sale than nuclear proliferation. Said Shultz: "I resent what I regard as a kind of smear of Bechtel. I think it is a marvelous, honorable, law-abiding company."

Otherwise, whether he was defending the administration's approach to South Africa or covert operations as a justifiable policy option, Shultz was disarmingly noncommittal. In his quiet self-assurance he seemed to confirm the accuracy of Henry Kissinger's recent assessment: There was no man in Washington to whom Kissinger would never trust the affairs of the nation. Clearly, Reagan agreed. Welcoming Shultz to the team, the president spoke only half in jest when he said that he would be inclined to "let George do it."

While it is still not apparent in exactly which direction Shultz will move U.S. policy, he will certainly play a decisive role in its formulation. He has the full trust of—and more important—the ear of the president, the admiration of colleagues, the respect of Washington's allies. Despite mounting crises, the feeling in the capital last week was almost one of relief—that a man of Shultz's stature and talent had taken charge of U.S. diplomacy. □

Probing an insult

Long before his death at 65 last year, Manhattan's Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Fred Sparks had severed all ties with his orthodox Jewish family. But the slight he paid them in life was nothing compared to the result he inflicted on death: his last will and testament bequeathed \$300,000 to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

With Israel's current drive against the PLO as a backdrop, Sparks's will has attracted wide-eyed concern far beyond his orthodox family. It has caused a legal furore in New York City and has set the scene for a major wrangle between pro-Israeli, PLO and civil liberties lawyers when the case hits the courts for federal examination scheduled for September. Said Israel Levine, a spokesman for the American Jewish Congress (AJC), one of three pro-Israeli groups disputing the will: "It's not in the public interest to grant the request."

The controversy began when the will came up for probate before Manhattan Surrogate Judge Hilarie Lambert. The procedure is usually routine, but Lambert is Jewish and she campaigned for her office on a platform of denying funds to banks that supported the Arab boycott. So, while no one is in court at the time objected, Lambert pondered

openly whether or not the bequest was in keeping with public policy. Rather than deny the bequest herself, she called for briefs from any interested parties.

With that the legal flood doors opened. First came the Jewish lobby, with heavyweight lawyers from the American Jewish Congress, the World Jewish Congress and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. The PLO was

When no one objected Lambert pondered whether the bequest to the PLO was in keeping with public policy

quick to respond, hiring lawyers to protect future bequests. Since New York state law denies that an unrepresented party may not take money from a will, unless it is a charity, the PLO is preparing to send its top man in the United States—Zaidi Tera, permanent observer at the United Nations—to take the witness stand. Tera is expected to argue vehemently for the organization's charitable and philanthropic activities. A third party in the fray will be the

New York Civil Liberties Union, which pushed to the defense of the late, ill-mannered Fred Sparks. They will argue that Sparks's right to free speech is being threatened, halting their case on a Supreme Court ruling that the donation of funds to political candidates is a form of free speech protected by the First Amendment. The National Lawyers' Guild has also taken up the fight on the PLO side on the grounds that Surrogate Lambert had no right to hold up the bequest. Said civil liberties lawyer Chris Hansen: "Her action is unprecedented. What if a Democratic judge didn't think a bequest should go to the Republicans? A principle like this cannot be based on the whims of the judge in charge."

Much of the legal cross fire will be stoked at the PLO's true status: The Jewish legal shoo-iners will draw comparisons with the Mafia. They plan to argue that it is illegal to give money to criminal purposes. "If they are going to justify themselves as a charitable organization, we want to be there," said the AJC's Levine. "We feel that as time goes on they have been seen in a more respectable light and that their real purpose—international murder and terrorism—has been lost."

According to Sparks's sister, Miriam Greene, her brother died from illness and alone. But the trial will certainly show that although he is gone Fred Sparks is anything but forgotten.

—JANE O'HARA in New York

Surrogate Lambert (left); Sparks in Korea, 1951: a legacy prompts a furor between pro-Israeli, PLO and civil liberties lawyers





Arifet with a young Palestinian (top); Palestinian guerrilla in refugee camp. "Just possibly the start of the miracle"

The future of the PLO

By Thomas Hopkins

In a television war, it was a stunning image: a cocky Yasser Arafat, eyes puffy with fatigue, strolled among the Israeli-encircled ruins of his Palestine Liberation Organization stronghold in West Beirut. For the benefit of television crews he held up a small dark-eyed Palestinian girl. "It is our duty," he told the world solemnly, "to defend our babies." It was deftly done, an act that spoke of respectability, designed to speed the evolution of the PLO from terrorists to freedom fighters in Western eyes.

In the sixth week of Israel's invasion of Lebanon, even as the jittery warring ceasefire held and stakeholders wait the result in the hot summer air, this small victory hinted at deep changes in the region and suggested that things may never be the same again. As the immediate problems of negotiations over the fate of 6,000 PLO fighters became mired in problems of detail and destruction, the PLO could boast that for once the eyes of the world were focused on it. And the eyes were increasingly sympathetic.

Indeed, last week it became clear that although Israeli tanks have crushed the PLO militarily, Palestinians may ultimately emerge as the diplomats

winner of this latest conflict. A new relationship was already forming between the United States and the PLO. U.S. special envoy Philip Habib was negotiating directly with the PLO on everything but fact, and new Secretary of State George Shultz spotted at his confirmation hearings that the needs of the Palestinians were a "central reality" to the region. There appeared to be a dawning recognition that no solution was possible in the Middle East without the direct participation of the PLO.

By week's end, U.S.-led negotiations were well staffed by persistent Syrian mediators of suggestions that it provide asylum for PLO fighters. However, Palestinian and Lebanese negotiators in Beirut indicated the Syrian position may be flexible and suggested there may be a breakthrough when U.S. President Ronald Reagan confers with Syrian and Saudi Arabian foreign ministers in Washington this week, a meeting well-nigh unthinkable a year ago.

In what seems to have become a diplomatic blunder by Israel, the invasion will likely result in increased calls for the United States to open wider talks on Palestinian self-determination—talks that would include the PLO. West German Foreign Minister Hans Dietrich Genscher last week confirmed that King Hussein of Jordan and President

Hosni Mubarak of Egypt had asked him to put pressure on the United States to open talks with the PLO. "It is now necessary to give the Palestinians a sign of hope," he said.

Hope is a commodity the region's 6.5 million Palestinian civilians have had in short supply. An ill-starred people, displaced for 34 years, used, then abandoned by Arab allies and scattered throughout the Arab world, the Palestinians are nourished by visions of hatred and land-hatred for Israel and dreams of reclaiming land lost to Jewish gains in 1948 and 1967. It is a corpse flag, passion, and for the past 18 years it has found its most effective voice in the PLO. At first the Palestinian cause found expression in brutal terrorism; lately it has begun to be heard in the backroom murmurings of moderation.

Events in Lebanon appear to have reinforced the change. This has been a war unlike the others. The misadventure of the Israeli war and the ineffectuality of the Arab response may have permanently altered the power relationships of the region. Israel's first aggressive war, it has damaged that country's image. By destroying the PLO's military capability, it has freed the organization to explore diplomacy.

As well, despite the asperity of the scolding [Israel], the PLO within Bel-



rut emerged in the world's eyes as a unified, efficient force. Indeed, throughout the final days of the PLO presence in Lebanon its infrastructure continued to function, demonstrating the resiliency of the Palestinians. WAP, the PLO news service, continued to Tel Aviv communications of news and propaganda to hotels where correspondents were staying and to news agencies abroad. While the rest of Beirut was cut off, PLO phones continued to work. When the Israelis severed water lines to West Beirut, Palestinian teams were seen digging new wells in the Beirut of Barjast alone as shells thudded nearby.

It is a toughness that has characterized the Palestinians since the days when they were called the Philistines, during the 12th to 18th centuries BC, and ruled the lands around modern Israel for 500 years. They were defeated militarily about 3300 BC by the Jewish warrior King David, who went on to form the first state of Israel. The state thrived until the Jews in turn were ousted by the Babylonians in 586 BC, beginning the Jewish Diaspora. The region labored under waves of conquerors until the 19th century, when a worldwide Zionist lobby for a Jewish homeland resulted in the 1917 Balfour Declaration by the British Parliament, one of the key steps on the road to the creation of Israel in 1948.

Throughout the changes, the Palestinian majority refused to recognize the increasing power of the Jewish minority. The result was an ill-conceived war between Israel and the surrounding Arab states in 1948 that ended with the Palestinians having none of the land in partitioned Palestine that they had been promised. Nearly one million Palestinians, sometimes encouraged by Israeli terrorists, fled to surrounding Arab countries during the 1948 fighting.

Israel moved quickly to ensure that the Palestinians would not return. Between 1948 and 1953, Jewish settlers created 270 new settlements in the new Israel, 250 of them on land owned by Palestinians. Laws were passed that stated that once land was owned by Jews it could never revert to non-Jewish ownership. No compensation was ever paid. The result was a Palestinian Diaspora.

Of the PLO's current population of some 4 million Palestinians, only 500,000 live in Israel. The rest are scattered throughout the Arab world, with major concentrations in Jordan (one million), the occupied West Bank and Gaza (1.2 million) and Lebanon (500,000). In 1960 the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinians (UNRWA) was created to care for



Stroke runs from West Beirut: a military disaster for the PLO may provide unexpected diplomatic solution

the vast tent cities of displaced Palestinians. Today, almost two million Palestinians remain classified as refugees, and a third of these live in one of 14,000 camps scattered throughout the Middle East.

Life is misery for most of them, but for the 500,000 refugees who fled to Lebanon after the 1948 and 1967 wars and the bloody ouster of the PLO from Jordan in 1970, the future is particularly bleak. Always a massive alien presence among the three million Lebanese, they have stayed unassimilated throughout their residency. This is partly by choice and partly due to a resolution, aimed at keeping their plight in the world's eye, adopted at an Arab summit meeting that prohibited any Palestinian from becoming a citizen of a host Arab country.

The stateless camps in Lebanon suffered terribly in the recent Israeli invasion. In the devastated regions of the country, more than 100,000 Palestinian refugees are again homeless as a result of the fighting. Most now live in tents and the rubble of houses. It was only two weeks ago that UN caravans of food were allowed to cross the Israeli border into Lebanon after a two-week delay.

As well, Palestinians fear that whatever the shape of the future Lebanese government, many Lebanese will blame them for the ruinous 1975-76 civil war in that country. Those fears have foundation. Some members of the Lebanese Christian Phalange party are al-

ready contemplating the mass expulsion of all Palestinians who came to Lebanon after 1948.

Still, for the vast majority of Palestinians, the outcome of the Beirut standoff will not materially affect their lives. More typical of the Palestinian experience is that of 30-year-old journalist Hassan Abdel Jassad who lives with his family in the Dheirah refugee camp, three kilometers west of Beirberrin, the outcome of the Beirut standoff will not materially affect their lives. More typical of the Palestinian experience is that of 30-year-old journalist Hassan Abdel Jassad who lives with his family in the Dheirah refugee camp, three kilometers west of Beirberrin, the outcome of the Beirut standoff will not materially affect their lives. More typical of the Palestinian experience is that of 30-year-old journalist Hassan Abdel Jassad who lives with his family in the Dheirah refugee camp, three kilometers west of Beirberrin, the outcome of the Beirut standoff will not materially affect their lives.

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King Hafeez (left), Assad (center), King Faisal 'central reality'



ready contemplating the mass expulsion of all Palestinians who came to Lebanon after 1948.

countries as cheap labor and under the care of UNRWA. Always a more potent political weapon than a military one against Israeli, the PLO became dominated by the Fatah (the Conqueror) faction of Yasser Arafat after it beat back an Israeli incursion into Jordan at Al Karameh in March, 1968. The same year, Arafat was named chairman of the group.

But the organization as it is known today was finally welded together by a major campaign of international terrorism designed to attract attention to the Palestinian cause. The result was a shaky coalition of at least eight rival factions, each with separate ideology, funding and leadership. Fatah, led by Arafat, a 35-year-old former civil engineer, has no ideology other than the nationalist dream of the re-taking of Palestine. The largest share of Fatah funds comes from the Gulf states, mainly from Saudi Arabia. The next-best-known faction is the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), led by Marwan George Habash. Formed in 1967 and backed largely by Syria, it is perhaps best known for the spectacular hijackings in September, 1970, of five airlines, three of which were forced to land in the open desert near Davis, Jordan, and were blown up. The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) is perhaps the most leftist and is backed by Libya. The Iraq-backed movement is the Arab Liberation Front, and the Palestinian Liberation Front. The Syrian-backed and -controlled faction is Baqa.

Outside the conflict and a major threat to Arafat and his relatively moderate leadership is Damascus-based Abu Nidal and his Black June guerrillas. Nidal, a renegade Palestinian sentenced to death in absentia by the PLO, is widely believed to be behind a number of attacks on PLO targets, including Arafat, as well as attacks on Jewish targets in Europe. By blaming Arafat and the PLO for the murders, he hopes to discredit the moderate line. The tactic has been effective. The attempted murder of Israeli Ambassador to Britain Shlomo Argov, now widely blamed on Nidal, was used by Israel as the trigger for the Lebanon invasion.

For better or worse, the final fate of the Palestinians is linked to that of Arafat and the PLO. There is no new Palestinian leader waiting in the wings. His already strong hold on Palestinian loyalty seems to have strengthened in the wake of the invasion. The future



Young Palestinians training for combat, diplomatic struggle

beyond Beirut, however, remains unclear. Militarily, the Lebanon defeat ends the misguided Arafat strategy of constructing a Palestinian armed state within a state. Arafat had already lost one in that game. After the arming of refugee camps in Jordan in 1970 led to an arrogant attempt to overthrow King Hussein, the PLO lost an estimated 70 per cent of its military might and was pushed out to Lebanon. That debacle came to be known as Black September. In Lebanon Arafat again attempted to establish a quasi-state, and his armed forces figured largely as both cause and participant in Lebanon's bloody 1975-76 civil war. After Lebanon, the headquarters of a new PLO armed band, a ticking time bomb in the host country's front yard, is minute. Fighters now in Lebanon will likely be paroled out to the countries of their major sponsors, perhaps after an initial evacuation to a base in Syria.

Despite the recent moderate tone of the PLO leadership, fear persists that terrorism will always be a well-used weapon. There are questions about Arafat's ability to control more radical factions if the split-line groups are diagnosed away from Arafat's leadership. Observers see an increase in the use of terrorism in isolated instances. Still, most agree it will not be as a major tool of policy by the PLO.

Indeed, the future strength of the PLO seems to lie in diplomacy. Key to that diplomatic offensive is the eyes of many

in Arafat himself. Dashing about Beirut in a battered Peugeot, with a carefully grown stubble and beard, Arafat is the policy middle-class magician who has kept the fractious PLO together for 14 years. Viewed as a terrorist in Israel, he is increasingly viewed by the rest of the world as a statesman. Certainly the PLO without Arafat seems unthinkable. It will be his undoubted skills as a diplomat that will be crucial for the Palestinian in the next few weeks.

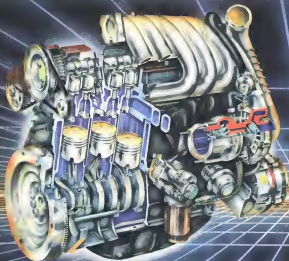
As Arafat played for time and concessions last week in Beirut, the Palestinian propaganda machine churned out counterattacks underscoring the PLO's claims of diplomatic strength. They pointed out that more countries in the world accord the 18-year-old guerrilla movement diplomatic recognition than recognize Israel.

Officially the PLO has not departed from its stated purpose, written shortly before it came into existence in 1964: the liberation of Palestine through diplomatic recognition than recognize Israel.

Again in 1980, at the congress, Fatah, which represents 70 per cent of the PLO membership, renewed its vow to "liquidate the Zionist entity politically, militarily, culturally and ideologically." In recent months, however, in the better of PLO opinion, the moderate views of the PLO leadership appear to be in the ascendancy. In 1980 Arafat was reported privately to be in favor of an eight-point Middle East plan first forwarded by Saudi Arabia's King Faisal—three deputy prime ministers. The plan, a definite reworking of the Six Resolutions 242 passed following the 1948 Day War in 1970, calls for the Arab recognition of Israel in exchange for Israeli withdrawal to pre-1967 borders and the establishment of a Palestinian state.

While allowing militant members to focus on rearming and reorganization after last summer's two-week mini-war with Israel, Arafat embarked on a well-orchestrated campaign that laid the groundwork for the evolution from a PLO from guerrilla organization to political movement. First, he rounded up wider Western support, making trips to countries such as Japan, Greece and India. Meanwhile, he quietly pushed behind the scenes with others who appeared interested, such as the Soviet Union. Secondly, and increased links with such unexpected parties as the Vatican.

Even as the negotiations in West Beirut were expanding from the simple PLO evacuation to demands for a new start in negotiations toward a permanent solution to the Palestinian question, ob-



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servants were mauling with fascination to see when Arafat would play his one major trump card: the recognition of Israel. Although there are clear indications that he and the moderates of the PLO have made the decision privately, public recognition has been jealously held back in an effort to have the gesture generate maximum political impact. Through it, Arafat hopes to gain formal U.S. recognition of the PLO. As negotiations increasingly head toward a PLO-U.S. dialogue, with Israel flanking on the sidelines, Arafat hopes that recognition will force the U.S. government to stop its opposition to over Palestinian sovereignty that has beyond the vague autonomy presumptions of the Camp David accord.

For its part, Washington shows increasing signs of willingness to accommodate the PLO. It has been faithful to its pledge to Israel that the PLO would not be recognized until Arafat acknowledges the right of Israel to exist. But the recognition of a staunch friend of Israel, Secretary of State Alexander Haig and permanent removal out of Washington about President Reagan's displeasure with the Begin government's Lebanon strategy fact were in Israel.

Diplomatic pessimists are little that is of positive coming out of the PLO's debut in Lebanon and the scattering of the PLO. They cite recent opinion polls in Israel that indicate between 85 and 90 per cent of Israelis support the Begin government, with Syria, Iraq and Egypt, traditionally as enemy threats and Begin's supposed ally, making concerted attempts to make the West Bank part of Israel, thus appears to be little reason for Israel to compromise with the PLO, will likely to accept a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza linked by an international transport corridor as privately proposed by some PLO moderates. The absorption last week by the Begin government's attention of a fringe party that advocates the complete annexation of the West Bank did little to stir optimism.

Schemes mediated by Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, among others, that would see Palestinians settled in a state on the east bank of the Jordan River in the Kingdom of Jordan have been derided by both the Palestinians and King Hussein. As well, the

vague promises of the Camp David accords, which call for a five-year period of "autonomy" for the West Bank and Gaza, appear to be doored by Israeli arrests of mayors and Palestinian hostility.

Others see the dislocations of the Lebanese conflict as the best opportunity for a lasting Palestinian solution since the TV pact of 1987, which offered the Palestinians a state alongside Israel. With their military capabilities blunted and an Iranian plot blemished on the map, the Arab world is seen to be much more willing to reach an accommodation with Israel and the Palestinians than ever before. With the dangerous armed sting of the PLO taken away,

But even as a diplomatic victory seemed to be floating within his grasp last week, Yasser Arafat, like a house burglar who does not know when to settle in a final prize, continued to refuse to play his recognition card (referred to as "political capitalism") from Washington in the form of recognition of the PLO in return for co-operation in the evacuation of Beirut. Arafat's chief political adviser, Elias Blawan, said reporters last week that the PLO would show greater flexibility and would "retreat" only positions if the United States agreed to talk to the PLO directly. Still, the demands warred Arafat that Israeli officials not hold forward, he chose to flirt with the possibility of evicting 5,000 Palestinian marines, which would do little for the cause of the ordinary Palestinian.

By week's end the talks over the fate of the PLO in Beirut were mixed, in a diplomatic, principally because no Arab country was willing to accept the evacuated PLO fighters. Only Egypt had offered to take in the PLO leadership, an option that was unacceptable to Arafat as a result of Camp David. Persistent rumors that Bout Arafat was pressuring Syrian President Hafez Assad to accept the PLO

have been met with a wary eye out of the moderate opposition. Nevertheless, both centers are also expected to urge the United States to move beyond the immediate problem of the evacuation of Beirut and into discussions of a broad-based Middle East peace package. It is a view that is likely to get a sympathetic hearing.

Sitting outside the four-room house he built for himself in the Darnash refugee camp, Elias Arafat Jaber Jaber, a Palestinian leader, said the Lebanese didn't fight in the wars of 1948, 1966, 1967 or 1973. That war was the first war for the Palestinians with Israel. "The most important war." It may become that, even if the Palestinians lose. The Lebanese tragedy, he believed, was no bloodless offensive in the search for a solution to the only real issue in the Middle East: the search for a Palestinian home.

Felix Sam from Jerry Bruckheimer in Tel Aviv, Michael Posner in Washington and Robin Wright in Beirut.



Arab women and children crossing the Israeli-Lebanese border in 1983

A homeland out of the ashes

As the future of the PLO continued to be discussed in Jerusalem and Washington, the Palestinian leadership in the rubble of Beirut continued to talk with confidence about their prospects. One such leader, Amal Arafat, a member of the central committee of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), a London-educated sociologist who was born in Bethlehem. After teaching at British universities, he decided to join the PLO in 1972 because of group's Marxist, Maoist, and socialist ideology suited him. While working out the DFLP's role in Beirut with his wife and two children recently, he spoke with Maclean's correspondent Robin Wright.

Maclean's: Pending a political settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, what happens to the PLO next?

Arafat: Whatever the outcome of the present conflict in Lebanon, the PLO will not give up its political aim. That is, the right to self-determination and an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. That will remain for the simple reason that there is no other solution to the Palestinian problem, since the so-called self-rule autonomy plan is just a cover for the continuation of the Israeli occupation. But I think the rule will remain to return armed struggle in arriving at its political aims, here again for the simple reason that before the Palestinians took up arms nobody paid attention to Palestinian demands. It was only after the Palestinians armed themselves and showed that they were serious about their national aim that the international community took notice of the fact that these Palestinians had rights.

Maclean's: Since the PLO has no major military unit near an Israeli border, it would appear that the only form of "armed struggle" left to you is terrorism.

Arafat: I don't think the PLO will return to such terrorism as the individual acts of violence performed in the early 1970s. There is a large body of the PLO against such acts. In fact, even those members of the PLO that were in favor of such acts have changed their opinion about this. But that does not mean that some splin-

der groups or individuals, as a result of the frustration, will not begin acts of terrorism.

The difficulties facing our armed struggle will be overcome, as we overcome the situation of this kind in 1970 after the events of September in Jordan and as we overcome the obstacles before 1970 when all the Arab countries were trying to prevent the arming of the Palestinian people.

Similarly, in the occupied territories,

perpetrated?
Arafat: I think Arafat will continue to be chairman of the PLO. There is no problem with that at all. There is no reason to thank the opponents.

Maclean's: What is the mood within the PLO after what appears to be a devastating blow to its cause?

Arafat: The mood, regardless of what appears to outsiders, is optimistic. The feeling is that we are entering a new political era. There is a feeling of pride that we will be able to win the largest army in the Arab world for more than one month, something many Arab armies could do only for a few days. There is a confidence that this new situation has drawn the attention of the people of the world to the fact that the Palestinians are here, that they need a solution and that that solution exists in having a homeland.

Maclean's: For it would appear you are further away from achieving this goal than at any time in the past decade.

Arafat: It might seem that way, but not the way we see it. This war has been to create international attention for the Palestinian cause. We have seen, for the first time, the emergence of sympathetic public opinion in Israel. The demonstration of 20,000 Israelis in Tel Aviv on January 12 did not happen in a vacuum. That has been a step forward in wartime before. We have also seen a change in public opinion in Europe and elsewhere. I expect that even in the United States there is some understanding that as long as the Palestine issue is not solved there will be no peace in the Middle East. That will have an impact on policy.

Maclean's: Will it be possible for the night, perhaps under a PLO umbrella to remain united, despite ideological differences and geographical separation after the evacuation of Lebanon?

Arafat: I don't exaggerate if I say that the leadership of the eight organizations were united that year before. The emphasis during the crisis has been on collective leadership and constant consultation. We are all in agreement because we have to be and because we want to be. **Maclean's:** What about the leadership of Yasser Arafat? Is it likely to be threatened by other militants or a younger generation?



Arafat in his West Beirut office: a feeling of pride.

Maclean's: Will the PLO infrastructure be damaged in Lebanon? But I think it is important to remind people in the West who do not know the map of the PLO that the PLO does not exist just in Lebanon. The PLO has institutions and organizations in every country where there is a Palestinian population that means throughout the Arab world, in North and South America, Europe, Africa, almost everywhere. We have lost most of the military and political infrastructure in Lebanon, but the political infrastructure is intact across the board. ☐

Travellers on the bus of blood

To the innuendoes Western observers, were—such as the bloody conflict raging in Lebanon—sometimes cover as a horrible surprise, a random outbreak of violence that defies reason. But more, like hatred, are more often long in the making. The following are portraits of two families—one Israeli and one Palestinian—into bear old scars and fresh wounds from a war that goes well beyond the current fighting.

The members of the Barakat family of Tel Aviv, longtime supporters of Israel's opposition Labor party, are reluctant to admit it, but they have become "non-Muslims" in their

known in Israel as *Arabim* *Yehudim*—but of blood. Miraculously, the Barakats, seated at the back of the bus, were the only family to escape unscathed—scathed physically, at least.

Itzhak Barakat, a former bus inspector, took a two-month leave from work after the attack and then sought a transfer to a desk job so he would not have to get behind the wheel again or "see another Arab." He still suffers bouts of depression and carries a patch with him everywhere. "We don't hate the Arabs," he says, "but we feel they don't want to live with us in peace and we know we have to fight them. I know I wouldn't think twice if I had to kill one

with us, and that was an important feeling," she says. Any idea about leaving Israel soon vanished. Says Itzhak: "This place is still the safest in the world for a Jew because Israel is the only place a Jew can survive, and I feel prouder today that I am a Jew than I ever did before."

But for his son Rami, now 16, that pride is tinged with a bitterness that the past four years have not erased. His father recalls that March afternoon in 1976: "There was one moment on the bus when they asked Rami, who was sitting in front of me, to stand up, and I was sure they were going to kill him. He turned around and looked at me and I



The carcasses of the bus after the 1976 attack (right). Itzhak and Rami Barakat with son Rami, the safest place in the world

attacked toward Aram. A few weeks ago 18-year-old Nir Barakat was a member of the Israeli force that overran the Lebanese coastal town of Damour, just south of Beirut. During the fighting, Nir felt something strike his back but paid no attention. Later, when he returned his backpack, he discovered five enemy bullets lodged in it—bullets that would surely have killed him.

But it was not Nir's first brush with death at the hands of armed Palestinians. Four years ago, Nir, along with his family—his father, Itzhak, 44, his mother, Sarah, also 44, and a younger brother, Rami—were passengers on a chartered bus carrying a holiday crowd home from a one-day outing to Jerusalem. Just outside Tel Aviv the bus was boarded by 11 terrorists who began shooting wildly at passengers and passing cars. After an hour, 33 Israelis and nine hijackers were dead and 12 others wounded in an incident that has become

now I could sit and drink a coffee afterward." He remembers that two terrorists who survived the attack vowed afterward to kill every Jewish boy they could find. "Why," Itzhak asks grimly, "should I be any different?"

His wife, Rami, says her feelings toward the Arab community are mixed. "When I watch TV and see our soldiers on the West Bank and see the Arabs are so afraid, sometimes I feel sorry for them," she says. Then—echoing comments made by some of the Lebanese victims of the latest Israeli attack—she adds: "But I just can't understand how they could kill children, that I just can't understand."

Both parents say they have become closer as a family and feel closer to their god and their country since the terrorist incident. Rami recalls the support of fellow Israelis during the terrible weeks and months after. "I saw that I wasn't alone, that the whole country stood

could see in his eyes that he was waiting for me to help him, the way a son waits for his father's help. And I will never forget the look in his eyes—which is why I feel the way I do today."

In recurring nightmares after the attack, Rami sees the face of the terrorist who held a gun in his hand throughout and still remembers "his face, with a big gold tooth." His older brother, Nir—who, according to the Barakats, has not been as seriously affected by the bus incident—joined the Israeli army three months ago, and Rami is anxious to follow him. With a release from that fear, his parents and brother will for future peace in the Middle East, young Rami says of the Arabs. "I hate them more than before I am afraid when I go to a public place and see an Arab, but I don't want to shoot. I really want to go into the army and buy a gun so I can defend myself."

—TERRY BROOKS in Tel Aviv

A war with a difference

Whatever tolerances Fatah's Aleyk once felt for her Jewish neighbors is now rapidly disappearing. The 30-year-old Palestinian woman has been living for the past few weeks with 1,300 other refugees in a squalid shelter in besieged West Beirut. "I once thought we [Jews and Palestinians] could live side by side," she says, "but no more. [Israeli Prime Minister Menachem] Begin is a murderer. No one

and oaths of this kind over everything and everyone. Yet even if the Aleyks were able to leave, they would have no home to return to—the Rashidiyah camp, along with half the Palestinian camps in Lebanon, has been leveled in the savage fighting.

Lebanese and Palestinian volunteers are trying to accommodate the 1,300 refugees in the school and 2,000 others camped in a public garden in Beirut, but



Rashidiyah refugee camp near Tyre, now leveled by the Israeli death or a live state

can doubt that now I know there is a future for me only in a Palestinian state, under a Palestinian government."

Fatah and her son children were living in the large Rashidiyah refugee camp outside of Tyre when the Israelis began their invasion of Lebanon. On June 7, the fourth day of the attack, Fatah decided that this war was different from the others, that, in her words, "this was it." She gathered her children together and began a five-day walk to what she thought was the safety of West Beirut. Her journey took her along a 100-km stretch of Mediterranean coastal road that was under constant bombardment by the advancing Israeli army. The day after she arrived the Israeli tank rolled off West Beirut, and the Aleyks were given emergency shelter in a classroom of a deserted school—a room they share with 18 other refugees. The room reeks of urine from the outdoor toilets and floor below,

modest supplies are scarce, and water and electricity in West Beirut have been shut off intermittently. Food parcels are delivered only once every 10 days.

Still, Fatah remains defiant. "They think they have beat us, killed us," she says, peering at her chest. "We will fight until they destroy us rather than surrender. All of us are willing to sacrifice our lives." And the lives of her children? As her three-year-old son, Dory from 30 days without a real bath, squirms in her lap, Fatah replies, "Yes, definitely. They either kill us all or give us a state. I am willing [for] my children [to die] for the state of Palestine." At her words, a neighbor objects that the children must be moved, and the two women begin a shouting match that threatens to turn into a fight before an interpreter intervenes.

There is no doubt that Fatah's son is beloved by her husband, Mohammed, a commander in the Palestine Liberation

Organization. He stayed behind to fight when Fatah and the children fled to West Beirut, and she is not sure where he is now. "He is still fighting," she boasts. When told that the Israeli army claims it is capturing 80 to 100 guerrillas a day, Fatah's response is: "He loved before he will save now."

Mohammed Aleyk was born in Acre (then Palestine), and (like many refugees, moved first to Jordan, then to Lebanon in the early '70s. He was elected mayor for a while, then joined the PLO. This is not the first time the Aleyk family has been separated by war. During the two-week Israeli-Palestinian border skirmish in 1961, Fatah fled with her children to another suburb of Beirut while Mohammed stayed behind in the south to fight.

But for the Aleyks—and thousands of other homeless people like them—the future has never been as uncertain as it is now. Many of the Palestinians huddled under makeshift homes of cardboard and blankets in the public garden in downtown West Beirut have been so frightened by the possibility of a new Israeli invasion that they tore up their United Nations identity cards—

their only form of identification—when the sector was closed off. Their fate is indeed a question mark, because while the Israelis insist the PLO must leave the Lebanon, they also insist that the vast majority of Palestinians will leave. What it does mean is that if the planned evacuation of 160,000 troops from West Beirut goes ahead, Mohammed—if he is still alive—and even the little child he sent away, leaving their wives and children behind without homes or income. In those circumstances it is little wonder that an honorable death seems preferable to a long life. "This could be the end for us as a united people," says Fatah. "That is why we must be willing to fight."

As for the Israelis, Fatah says: "I don't hate the Jews, the Israeli I would like to live with as my neighbors, in peace." But in separate interviews—on the same streets, she says—the same woman—RUTH WEINSTEIN in Beirut.

Upturn in a frantic roller-coaster ride

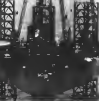
By Michael Clapton

Bow Valley Industries Ltd., the Canadian-owned company with the largest holdings involved in the East Coast's offshore energy play, has increased its bets in the great gamble that Atlantic oil and gas can neither be refilled into dollars and cents. In partnership with Hinky Oil Operations Ltd., also of Calgary, Bow Valley last week stepped into a vacancy created when Shell Canada Resources Ltd. was disqualitied from an offshore drilling venture by the federal government because it did not meet the Canadian corporate content requirements of the National Energy Program. Now, Bow Valley and Hinky will become operators on Section 301 acreage owned by Shell's former partners, Scotia Energy Resources Ltd. of Halifax and Ogearing Resources Ltd. of Toronto under the new arrangement, drilling will begin in roughly a year on two wells and possibly a third, instead of the one well planned by Shell. Also, the transfer of Newfoundland know-how from the West to the East, which the Atlantic region badly needs, will help the Nova Scotia partner in the deal eventually become a major participant in the offshore activity.

The announcement, made last Monday in Halifax, is a major "up" in Nova Scotia's current frantic economic roller-coaster ride. For every bit of good news on the offshore—last week's news, for instance, followed an earlier announcement that the Venture well near Sable Island in Nova Scotia's waters—there seems to be a corresponding dip for the economy as a whole. Talk of boom and bust seems to alternate like the partitions in a revolving door. Last week Nova Scotia was subjected to the first cut in its credit rating, at the hands of the New York-based ratings agency Standard & Poor's Corp., from A-plus to A. The province's offshore gas potential, while a bonus, was still too indistinct to count as a bulwark strong enough to shore up its ailing rating, says Philip Boucher, ratings officer. More bad news came last Thursday when the provincial government announced that it could no longer afford up to 750 health-care workers who may face layoffs and that further cuts may be ahead in social services.

Later, wonder, then, that Premier John Buchanan is trying to take so

much cheer as possible from one of the few bright spots around—the offshore—even though the hydrocarbons will probably not start flowing to market until 1996 or 1997. Buchanan credits last February's settlement between the provincial and federal governments—which he called, at the time, "probably the best agreement that will be signed between a province and Ottawa in the next 50 years"—for the recent upsurge in exploration. In fact, by next year the number of rigs working off the province will have increased from one to eight. It has come, says Buchanan's view is that he'll still freeze over before it accedes to Ottawa's control of its offshore energy resources or to the terms of revenue-sharing hammered out between Halifax and Ottawa.



Up off Sable Island, political tensions flaring.

Nor has the federal government been above playing off one province against the other. Brian Peckford, Nova Scotia's premier, has held up Nova Scotia as the model of rationality that transcends Newfoundland's well-known exercise in self-imposed isolation that the province of Premier Brian Peckford has

A power play splits OPEC

When ministers from the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries abruptly pulled out of Vienna's mid-June summit last week after an unceremonious two-day meeting, they left a badly shaken oil cartel in their wake. Instead of salvaging the organization's fractured jurisdiction and price-control agreement, the session ended in disaster, raising the prospect of an oil-price free-for-all in a world market already pitched by shipping demand. The major cause of the cartel's newest wound is a rift between oil giant Saudi Arabia and smaller Arab producers.

The Saudis arrived at the hastily called meeting demanding price boosts by countries that have been flooding the market with oil at cut-rate prices. Indonesian officials, for instance, have been roughshod over the daily production quota of 27.5 million barrels agreed upon last March. That agreement was intended to cut back oil production enough to take up the market's slack and force consumers to use up their reserves, an essential condition for recovery in the industrialized coun-

tries—combined with the increased demands of winter—would firm up prices in March. It appeared certain that the cartel's benchmark mark of \$34 (US) for light Saudi crude could be maintained if all 13 member countries stuck to the allotted quotas.

Nevertheless, at the Ninth meeting Saudi Arabia's powerful King Zaki Yamani said that he did not consider himself fully bound by the agreement. He suspected that other member countries would break it—and they did. Nigeria, whose high-grade oil fetches \$35-36 a barrel, now dares those of the cartel to break its monopoly in the desert as so the price for the same grade from North Sea fields dropped to about \$30. Resulting revenue shortfalls forced Nigeria to slash its prices. To varying degrees, Libya, Algeria, Venezuela and Ecuador also broke the agreement. But the worst offender was Iran. Despite a quota of 1.1 million barrels a day, the Iranians raised their production to 2.6 million barrels. Not only that, but they walked into last week's meeting demanding that their quota be lifted to three million barrels a day. Tehran's request was its best

described. "It's such a management tactic," says Newfoundlander, the minister in charge of offshore development, Bill Marshall. "One would not expect such tactics from responsible people."

Already sensitive interprovincial tensions were further strained when, on July 3, the senior vice-president of Petro-Canada, Joel Bell, said a Halifax audience of new petroleum discoveries in the Maritime structure off Newfoundland. He then criticized Model Oil Canada Ltd.—the operator of both offshore oil fields off Newfoundland, and Venture—for moving too slowly in developing the region. This angered Newfoundland because Bell had bypassed the traditional route for announcing discoveries—a joint venture conference with the operator and the provincial government. Not only that, Bell had broken the news in Halifax, St. John's municipal rival in the race to become the centre of the oil play—much as Aberdeen is to Britain's North Sea development. As well, Model was disgraced by Bell's statements. "We can't move any faster than we are," says company spokesperson Susan Sherk. "I can't interpret what went on in the man's head." But one interpretation favored in some government and industry circles is that Petro-Canada may be looking to take Model's offshore operations role. Whatever the origin of Bell's remarks, Newfoundland's Marshall believes that such controversy is counterproductive. Says he "You can't

offend a bunch of people and get a reasonable settlement of benefits to Newfoundland and Canada when you have sub-calling like that at every possible juncture."

At the moment, the Newfoundland-Ontario quarrel is awaiting another change in both the provincial and federal Supreme Courts over who owns the resource. Then negotiations must resume over the revenue split and over which government will control the exploration. And while an agreement such as Nova Scotia's makes the Section 301 oil play more attractive to others than the entrenched Newfoundland acreage, Bow Valley President Gerry Maitre estimates against giving it too much credit. "I don't think that you can declare that because of the Newfoundland-federal deal, Nova Scotia is suddenly a high-priority situation. It's really an opportunity situation, and you just bide your time until the other problems get settled." Far from shattering Newfoundland, Bow Valley and Hinky are an advanced step toward a far-out drilling deal off the island. Further, the partners have two semi-submersible oil rigs and six offshore supply boats under construction, both slated for use off Atlantic Canada. "You know that most corporations have more sense than to ignore these things," says Buchanan. "You want for the governments to get over whatever's bothering them and get down to the fundamentals of reality." □

Operation Exodus makes a haul



Lengdon, "an innocent victim."

Laden with \$400,000 worth of computers stolen in a bulky protective crates, the truck rolled down the New York Thruway toward the Peace Bridge and Canada. Following 90 m behind in an unmarked car was a counter-espionage agent. As the truck crossed the border, the agent pulled back and another agent, driven by an snare officer, took up the trail, which led to a Toronto-based company, NUP Business Systems Inc. of Canada. The reason for the intrigue appears by U.S. authorities that the shipment was ultimately headed for Moscow as part of an anti-Soviet effort to end the recently tightened U.S. embargo on exports of advanced technology.

Last week agents involved in a joint investigation by U.S., Canadian and West German authorities acted on their hunch. They seized the shipment of computers shortly after it arrived in West Germany from Toronto and was in the process of being rerouted to Switzerland. U.S. Customs officials refuse to divulge why they believe that the door 10-11 computers and peripherals in the shipment were bound for the U.S.S.R. and no charges have been laid against the companies concerned. But clearly the intended diversion of the equipment in Switzerland prompted the seizure. Unlike Canada, the United States and West Germany, that country has no tight controls on the export to East Bloc nations of "strategic" technology that could be of use in the development of Soviet weapons systems.

In fact, the investigation involving NUP is part of a 10-month-old effort—dubbed Operation Exodus—by U.S. authorities to stem the illicit flow of

for cash to finance the war with fellow OPEC member Iraq, a war that took an ominous turn last week as Iraq was invaded by Iranian forces last week (p. 16). Despite its flawed record, Iraq entered its basic agreement with the quota system. It simply argued that its production quotas should be accommodated for by cuts in the Saudi and

Iranian quotas. The Iranian case—where Iraq is supported by several members—was seen as a direct attempt to take over power within the cartel from the traditional Saudi-led Arab sheiks.

For their part, the Saudis had little room to maneuver in the face of Tehran's demands. Riyadh has already cut weekly production by three million barrels in order to reduce the glut and still funds itself with oil exports because of discounting by other members. Angered by the reallocation of Iran and its supporters, the Saudi's chief delegate, Abdul Aziz Al-Tajer, strongly hinted last week that the kingdom might increase its competition with price-cutting of its own. With 40 per cent of OPEC's produc-

tion controlled by the Saudis, the effects could be far-reaching. Already, spot market prices for Saudi light crude have fallen to \$31.50 a barrel. And while the Saudis have been accused of selling to Western consumers, it poses some special problems for Canada, which is committed to raising the price of oil to

70 per cent of the world price by 1984. Millions of dollars of foreign government investments depend on world prices rising.

The next few months may see serious infighting between OPEC members and a continuing drop in oil prices. But it still too soon to write the cartel's death warrant. Since its first serious trouble-shooting in 1973, OPEC has shown that its member countries know how to rally around the barrel when their collective interests are threatened. In the long term, as the oil inventories of consuming nations are used up, the prospect in that price will hit home and may even rise. Although OPEC may be suffering from the knees at present, it still has the means to ease itself.

—BOB MASTERTON in Vienna



advanced technology in Soviet-style countries. By far, a total of 460 orders has been made. Apparently in this latest case, U.S. Customs officials were acting on a tip that fuel play was involved when two West German firms—Benzsch A.G. and Elmac A.G.—ordered the computers from HPI in Toronto. The goods were ordered by the company's affiliate in Phoenix from Digital Equipment Corp. in Maynard, Mass., and were shipped to Toronto. Shortly after their arrival, the computers were repacked and sent by jet to Bonn.

In Toronto an outraged Glen Langdon, president of HPI, told Maclean's that his company is "an innocent victim" of a scheme by the "demon" — U.S. Customs for political gain. Furthermore, Langdon points out that his firm had no reason to doubt that the final destination of the equipment was West Germany, since the purchasers listed four other German firms as end users of the computers. As well, he says he knew nothing of the rerouting to Switzerland, although he was aware that the two West German buyers had head offices in Switzerland. Langdon also disputes the U.S. claim that the shipment was of strategic importance, arguing that it

U.S. authorities say Canada is becoming a major staging point for the shipment of technology to the Soviets

was "no significant strategically as sending over a Dodge Dart." Indeed, the FIVE-11 holds five permits, even for the Soviet Union. It is a model ship, he says, the market for more than 10 years, and the Soviets were purchasers of the model before Ronald Reagan tightened the U.S. high-technology embargo last fall.

A criminal investigation is under way in the United States, and the RCMP is also looking into the matter. Although it is far from clear that HPI was anything but an innocent middleman in the deal or that the shipment was indeed bound for Moscow, U.S. Customs Service officials are intent on cracking down on the "Canadian connection." According to U.S. Customs spokesman Edward Kutzberg, Canada is developing a major staging post for the ship's shipment of technology to the Soviets. The reason such goods can cross the border from the United States with no questions asked. Judging from last week's event, that situation is changing.

—WILLIAM LUTHERIE in Washington

Lifelines for B.C.'s economy



Artie's conception of planned terminal, new addition to an already bustling harbor

At a time when resource-based mega-projects are all but extinct in Canada's western provinces, British Columbia is an exception to the rule. There, plans for three of the biggest projects in the province's history are still pushing ahead despite the overgraze of the resources. The latest and most surprising confirmation of that fact came last week when it was announced that Dome Petroleum Ltd. of Calgary had been selected to build a \$1.7-billion liquefied natural gas (LNG) plant and pipeline in Northern British Columbia and ship three trillion cubic feet of gas to Japan over the next 30 years.

There were smiles all around and little concern for such hurdles ahead as Natural Energy Board approval for the project when Dome President R.H. Richardson estimated the value of the deal to be \$300 billion, or twice the size of all the current coal sales from Canada to Japan. "Energy Minister Bob McLeod lifted spirits still further by predicting that the project would mean an extra \$5 billion in provincial revenues over the next 30 years. Not only that, but Dome, which still has to figure out how it wants to repay the \$5 billion it owes its bankers, has arranged Japanese financing for the LNG project at the favorable interest rate of 3 1/2 per cent.

Dome's successful bid to begin construction of the plant—which could be shipping gas in 1986—was more good news for residents of the port city of Prince Rupert, its likely location in fact. It was almost more good news than the city could handle: three days earlier the financial details were worked out so as to plan to build a new grain, terminal there, with Alberta agreeing to pay 50 per cent of the cost, up to \$300 million. Not only that, but the city's waterfront is already busy with construction workers building a new port to handle large shipments of coal

exported from British Columbia's North East Coal project in the Peace River country.

Progress on the latter scheme had already provided B.C. cabinet ministers with cause for contentment. After months of tension for a government that had staked its survival on the \$2-billion project, financing was recently arranged. Premier William Bennett has been sleeping better since Questette Coal Ltd. (one of two major firms involved and a company largely owned by Deason Mines Ltd. of Toronto) announced late last month that it had lined up \$700 million in loans from a consortium of banks.

With a grain terminal capable of handling 3.1 million tonnes by 1990 going ahead at Prince Rupert, and roads, rail lines and a new port being built for coal exports, the prospect of an LNG plant is more than a rose worth thought for British Columbia. For one thing, the province has no farmland less than the bulk of a potential supply of 30 trillion cubic feet of natural gas in northeastern British Columbia. A new plant would stimulate exploration and development as it processed the 20 billion cubic feet of gas that the province could be producing by 1990.

Still, if Dome is unable to follow through on its promises or if the markets for LNG remain poor, the Social Credit party's chances of winning an election would be dark as a sewer hole. For the time being, however, the Soviets can take heart from a succession of good news for several of their major projects, and especially from the work well under way in the Peace River coalfields. So intent is the government on keeping that scheme on schedule that tourists are now being asked to stay away from the area. They would only be in the way of the 5,700 construction workers there.

—MALCOLM GRAY in Vancouver

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At last a fair wind



By Kerry McInerney

For seven days after Scott Mist II and Innovation popped their chutes in a light breeze at the start of the month's biennial Victoria-Main International Yacht Race, the two Saucy Cru 50s were racing boat for boat, the Irish line of Mist's Kaurigall Shores less than a day away. The fact that it had been one of the slowest Ve-Main races, plagued with frustratingly light winds in the first 30 days, mattered not a whit to the adrenaline and man-to-ship-and-on-the-deck eight kilometers away at Lahaina Harbor waiting to race aloft.

Saturday is the old whaling town are exuberant at any time, and the tumultuous Lahaina welcome for the return of the Ve-Main racing classic is legendary. When the first boat finishes and lines are secured, the waiting women, families and camp followers cheer as board, strapping garlands of fragrant plumeria first around the boat that brought them home and then around unharmed necks.

There is not another race fish to touch it. Even the last boat to reach the dock—which could be as much as 10 days after the first—will receive the same wild welcome, thanks to Lahaina residents and business who volunteer

Fleet leaves Victoria race-fair and fair

to "greet" a boat, provide food, booze and beer and keep its eye on waiting family members.

It is every sailor's dream come true—the South Sea under canvas. Even Capt. George Vancouver, when he surveyed the B.C. coast in 1791's Discovery, a 1790-91, had enough sense to return to Lahaina in the winter. The wonder of it is that someone did not think of the race before 1963, when Vancouver-based sailor C. Air pilot Jim Jones (formerly named two sailing buddies to Lahaina. The first official Victoria-Main race was in 1963 and it is still the only major offshore ocean race originating in Canada.

Since the first race, the 50-km course has attracted the world's finest ocean racers. This year's July 3 start off Victoria's Breakers Lodge saw 33 of the West Coast's hottest racing boats send joy-riding for position at the line. During the first week the lead boats circled almost daily, but always up there were the three long and low Saucy Cru 50s. Scott Mist II, Night Train and Innovation out of Vancouver; John A. Newton's new Admiral's Cup Canadian team member, Packers, skippered by Vancouver racer Per Christensen, racing Tuesday to Friday with

Victoria star ship Wild-O-the-Wisp.

Two days out, and well most of the fleet was only halfway. The strategy for the Ve-Main is simple. Listen to weather reports, avoid the winds "Pacific hump" and let the trade winds as soon as possible. This year the normally spherical high broadened and split into three, pushing the trades further south and trapping the entire fleet. Millions of dollars worth of racing machines barely drifted seaward.

Some crews swam to pass the time, others trailed for small tuna while some in Hawaii waited of waiting. At 25 degrees latitude, just above the Tropic of Cancer, the fleet leaders, Scott Mist II and Innovation, finally picked up the trades, a steady 20 knots from the northeast. After 1,835 km, these "northeasters with sails" were finally on the Pacific's great downhill slide. In the next 54 hours, Scott Mist II logged 200 km, still far, but short of Merlin's 1975 experience when it cranked off 1,030 km in two days. This year some boats logged only 32 to 64 km.

Once reached, the temptation of the trades is to carry all and possible and hit it to Maui. But hitting an unexpected southern swell with splasher flying is 40 knots while surfing down the front of four-metre seas can be as dangerous as driving a car onto glare ice. In 1973 Don O'Brien lost his seat 65 km from the finish in a classic banana split. His boat brunched to leeward, driving the splasher pole-and-water and putting an awkward end to the race. The result: no further measurements, no lives have ever been lost in the race, although one obviously seasick crew member who had to be transferred to an escort vessel probably on the island. The result: no further measurements, no lives have ever been lost in the race, although one obviously seasick crew member who had to be transferred to an escort vessel probably on the island.

Considering the preparation, training, cost of carrying extra gear, sails and rigging, plus wear and tear on body and boat, why do it again and again? "Why do you go by this?" shrieks O'Brien, a six-time Ve-Main entrant who won twice as a charter skipper. "It's just one of those things that life is that becomes part of your life."

Just how O'Brien's Scott Mist II from the Lahaina Yacht Club and Don Baxter's Innovation from the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club will fare in the current race will not be known until the last of the 22 boats is in Honolulu based on the International Offshore Rule ratings establish the winners, for presentation at the July 24 awards banquet. Though the thrill of the race is a bit compared to the race experience. ☐



The Gold Chumbers for horses. \$2.2 million of bets in the largest betting pool in North American racing history

A bet to build a dream on

By Malcolm Greig

All week long the money piled up, along with stories of high rollers flying in from Chicago and Las Vegas to place bets at Vancouver's Exhibition Park. The rumor circulated, especially since Americans have to pay taxes on horse race winnings, but the chance of cashing the ultimate long shot—a pool of \$2.2 million for an 11th in a single 18-year-old drew thousands of bettors to watch the thoughtless man against a backdrop of the coast mountains. The cause of the sporting fever, announced in Vancouver since the Canadian cricket Stan-ley Cup Fever in May, was a desperately simple betting dogfight called Sweep Six. All a bettor had to do was pick the winners in six straight races.

For a full week, no one had the right combination, and the potential payoff, increased by each night's losing bets, was carried over to the next day's racing. Finally, on July 14, with \$2.2 million at stake, three tickets with the right combinations claimed the largest pool in North American racing history. The big payoff was possible because the federal department of agriculture (which rules over Canadian race tracks) changed the laws allowing this form of betting, and Exhibition Park, along with Toronto's Woodbine and Greenwood tracks, had computer terminals at the betting windows able to keep track of the combinations involved in picking winners from 80 horses running in six races that meant expected the pool to go up for a week. Exhibition Park had not even bothered to ask the depart-

ment to let it declare a payout after, say, five days of racing, when someone who had picked the winners in five or four—anything—of the six races could claim the pool. Instead, for one mad week, every office, factory and construction site in town had groups of instant hand-pickers trying to pick the winning numbers (from the horses' starting postures) through systems based on a careful reading of The Daily Express News or the lower class name-books of passing cars.

The three winning tickets were each worth \$703,000.00. One was held by a couple and a friend who invested \$4, picked up the cheque quietly and went home, declaring intentions to tell the world how the winning numbers were chosen. Another three couples and a single friend put up \$750 to collect their share of the huge pot. Then there was Peter Wall, president of a successful real estate company and one of several partners, including a former politician for the Vancouver edition of The Daily Express News, who put up a rumored \$25,000 to collect the third winning ticket. They were the winners, but there were thousands of night-haw-bone-lying among the litter of discarded tickets at the end of the night.

At the Vancouver Stock Exchange, where business has not been booming lately, 30 investors thought it would be almost a sure thing to put up \$10,000 each for a combination that passed one heavy favorite in the fourth race July 7 with every horse running in the other five races. The favorite came in 10th up the track, in fourth place. Two other big dogs who had the only two live tickets one night earlier, going into

the last Sweep Six race, saw their chosen horse, Rick's Hit, win, closely followed by the mystery man flanking from the infield stand. Minutes later, with Rick's Hit disqualified for bumping another horse, they were left holding a handful of wastepaper.

Even with the pot growing daily, Exhibition Park was not quite ready for the mob that showed up on July 8, one day before the payout was made. A good Friday night attendance in about 10,000, with the Sweep Six still left, \$1,140 crowded into the joint, while the calls were going out from the track's business office to clerks located in racing the computerized betting terminals. "We weren't prepared for it," said Merv Peters, the track's general manager and a man who has never seen anything like the week of Sweep Six (over 10 years experience of horse racing). "We could have had 250 terminals on line but we could only find 60 operators for 181 of them."

Experienced bettors who like to wait until the last minute before making their choices (taking advantage of the odds shifting as money is laid down) found it took 40 minutes to fight their way to the windows through the Sweep Six machines. "It's a bet for suckers," snarled Don Whitford, who has been playing the horses for 39 years but never at granddaddy like Sweep Six. "I've seen at least five winners in a row in my time at the track, never mind six."

Hard times and the lure of big money for a \$2 bet is credited—or blamed—for the huge turnout. Merv Peters thought about that for a moment last week, then shrugged. "It actually terrifies me to think what it would have been the same here if we had been in the middle of a boom." ☐



Parlon: not a woman out out for typing, says she

A world all the hoops over last week's would all the hoops over last week's world premiere of Universal's *The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas*, there was intense rivalry. The store's political dignitaries who were having such a good time extra and napping with stars. But Parlon, and other Parlon were the same more responsible for slaying the famed "Chicken Ranch" brother more than eight years ago. But so one was impulsive enough to mention it. The only woman named apparent came from Reynolds, who walked into a feud with Larry King, the coauthor of the hit Broadway play, the film and a book about making the film. King has asserted that the 66-year-old man was wholly inappropriate in the role of what was originally a 70-year-old sheriff. But first offered he shut it out but later placed as many than his tongue firmly in his own cheek. "It would have been interesting to have a 70-year-old love interest opposite Dolly," he deadpanned. Miss Dolly handled the issue with more diplomacy. "I thought Bart made the perfect sheriff," she cooed. "And I was the perfect madam. After all, I make a better whore than a secretary." Nobody would touch that line with a ten-gallon hat.

Last week when the Art Gallery of Ontario unveiled its latest acquisition, *The Visage of Nature* by the

and van Gogh, a 19th-century Dutch impressionist shared the spotlight with the brooding pencil-and-ink drawing. Not only did *Felix Du Quenne* van Bruchem find with Vincent in his Quebec home for 15 years, and it was bought by the AGO for \$150,000 this spring, but the soft-spoken retired businessman is also a nephew of the great Dutch artist. Yet it was not until he offered the work for sale last year that Canadian art collectors became aware of the existence of the 1884 drawing—and Du Quenne—in the country. Although Parlon never met his father's uncle, he grew up surrounded by dozens of paintings and drawings that Vincent had given to Elizabeth—his sister and Du Quenne's mother.

Asked if he will miss this old heroism, Du Quenne says, "I have looked at its beauty for so many years that I can recall every stroke and detail by heart." If memory does fail, the AGO has promised a fine print to fill the faded spot above his masterpiece.

Furious at what he calls an "outrageous" character assassination in the trendy New York weekly, *The*

Kosinsky: wounded artist's emotional attack



By Quenne: every stroke and detail

Age Voice, author Jerry Kosinsky has come out fighting for his literary reputation in the June article, two Voice reporters seriously questioned Kosinsky's integrity and his writing ability, alleging that he once the AGO payroll (he's not an in-house member) and getting a copy editor, Barbara Mackay, as saying that she put the author's ideas "into English" for his book *The Devil Tree*. "These are the two charges that have hurt the most," he says. "They have damaged my reputation beyond repair." Kosinsky believes that the reporters misused his novel *Coil* for the CIA information and then applied it to him. "But my account of CIA agents was totally fictional," he explains in frustration. "For my part, Mackay insists that she was misquoted. 'I was nothing more than an editor,' she writes in a stilet letter to the paper. Kosinsky is skeptical of the reporters' intentions. "In the five hours of interviews, all [Gawby Stokes and Eliot Fremont-Smith] seemed interested in was whether or not I was compromised," he laments. "But, like my manuscripts and galleries, they didn't want to see that either."

—BARBARA RICHMOND

Toward the quintessential climb

By Thomas Hopkins

It was 1947, and Canadian Karl Denison found himself at loose ends in postwar Tibet. With the country of the snows, he decided to make a side attempt to climb the as yet unconquered Mount Everest. Although Tibet had closed the sacred mountain to climbers, Denison persisted and, in a spirit, but illegal climb, managed to reach the 7,000-m level in the 8,847-m Himalayan giant before stiffening cold and sledgehammer winds drove him back.

Last week, in what amounts to Canada's second expedition to Mount Everest, 11 Canadian climbers left Vancouver for what will be a more substantial attempt to climb the world's highest mountain. If their three-month, Air Canada-sponsored expedition is successful, the team will record a string of major firsts, including first Canadian ascent of the summit of Everest, first team to pioneer the extremely difficult South Pillar direct route up the mountain, first television pictures from the summit, and first television transmissions inside Nepal.

With a total budget estimated between \$600,000 and \$800,000 and supported by a plenitude of donated food, clothing and camping gear worth \$1

million, the team has more chance of success than its romantic predecessor. The climbers, all from the West, have been planning the climb since permission was granted by the Nepalese government in 1976. When Air Canada emerged as the team's major sponsor, in 1981, they conducted a series of practice climbs around the world to season the expedition. Six were successful. The seventh, to an Everest sister mountain, Ngapcho, last autumn, was abandoned after a massive rock avalanche erased the team's advance base camp. Miraculously the camp was deserted. Nevertheless, it was a reminder that Everest has claimed more than 30 lives since climbers first set foot on the mountain in 1921, including three in the past six months.

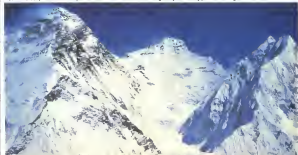
In mountaineering, as in most exploration, there is little left to conquer. Most major mountains have been climbed by their ascent routes. The challenge now is to reach the summit via more and more extreme ridges and faces. For their climb, the Canadians have chosen a spectacularly difficult path of ascent, the South Pillar, a jagged broken rib of rock, it rises beside the "horror" route taken in the successful 1953 ascent by Sir Edmund Hillary and Sherpa Tenzing Norgay. —eventually, the sole companion of Karl

Denison on his ill-fated attempt. Pukh climbers completed a variation of the daring South Pillar climb in spring, 1980. The Canadians will attempt a more direct route.

Climbers and Sherpa porters will construct a seven-kilometer-long rope highway up the flanks of the mountain. A pair of alternating lead climbers will push the route forward. From their high point they will slide down the fixed ropes each night to sleep in a series of permanent rest camps dotted up the mountain. Some camps will be set on spindly platforms of aluminum tubing perched on near-perpendicular slopes. Tents further down the mountain will be in danger of being swept away by ice avalanches. Daily progress will be monitored through a camera with a 4,000-mm lens, mounted at the Everest View Hotel, 24 km from the mountain. The crux of the climb will come at the long-battering height of 7,900 m, where a near-vertical band of rock will demand superhuman efforts in oxygen-starved air. If the rock band can be turned, two or more Canadian climbers should be able to reach the Everest summit by Oct. 15.

The key to success will be maintaining the supply lines to the mountain-side camps. If the link is broken and the high camps are left unstocked, the con-

Mount Everest (center) is at left with the South Pillar route on the right skyline, a very public climbing endeavor





Canadian team secures tent platform on practice climb: an electronic debut

sequence will be failure or even death for the lead climbers. To avoid this, a staggering logistical operation was mounted to obtain, pack and move some 30 tonnes of food and gear from airplanes onto trucks and finally, onto the backs of 200 porters for the 240-ton trek to the foot of Everest. The feat was carried out last April 4th, recalls expedition leader Rüdiger Mark, 40. "It has been a bloody headache."

Gathering the supplies, however, was no problem. Organizers found that the cash of the Everest name instantly opened doors to more than 120 suppliers. "This is not the best of years to be looking for donors," admits Hilary

Pollock, manager of Adventure MacIntyre Group, "but with the Everest logo we never had to go to a second company for supplies." Lane summer will likely bring a blizzard of commercial spots from companies ranging from Magic Fantasy packaged food to Leica cameras, all eager to show photos of their products high on Everest.

Not surprisingly, what some see as the commercialization of the climb has made the effort controversial. Some veteran climbers refused to join the expedition, citing the show-business aura and, in particular, the unprecedented use of television. (Only one print journalist will accompany the climb, Col-

ony Herald reporter Bruce Patterson.) In a pioneering experiment, the team will construct a complete television studio in Kathmandu, capital of Nepal, a country that has no television at all. Everest climbers will be equipped with portable videotape cameras weighing three kilograms. Twenty-seven solar panels at base camp will charge the camera's batteries. Tapes will be hand-carried down the mountain, helicoptered to Kathmandu and then, in an arrangement with Telefilm Canada, the pictures will be beamed by satellite to receivers in Canada. The cost of the equipment approaches \$1.5 million, and the result will be daily five-to 10-minute television broadcasts from the mountain. The expedition is still negotiating with Canada's television networks for broadcast rights. With live radio also available, September and October will likely see a media blitz. An Air Canada-sponsored, 10-part radio history of the mountain is already being heard across the country.

Nevil Pike, executive director of CanEverest, the company formed to market the climb, defends the hoopla. "If you tell me to arrange the plans for your wedding, that's fine," he argues, "but then if you tell me you're marrying Elizabeth Taylor that is something completely different. Everest is a public affair." In fact, the Canadian ascent is not the most laudable. The 1975 British climb of Everest's southwest face and 40 Sherpas for support. The Canadians will have 25 Nepalis, however, is a sporty Italian climbing expedition. Reinhold Messner climbed Everest from the north side in 1981, alone.

Doubts held by some climbers as to the size of the expedition have been assuaged by the knowledge that powerful endorsement firms and revenues will go to the nonprofit Canadian Mount Everest Society. Most of the gear from the 1982 expedition will be left in Nepal for the use of subsequent generations of Canadian Himalayan climbers. Combined with recent notable Canadian ascents of such Himalayan peaks as Dhaulagiri and Gangapurna, Mark says, "This is really the beginning of a new era in Canadian mountaineering."

As the team held a final press conference in Toronto last week, it was clear that the richness of last-minute preparations was fading. "We're fit and ready to go," and equipment co-ordinator manager Jim Kling, 36. For young climbers such as Dave McIsak, 27, of Calgary, the trip will be less a fight to the Olympics and more of a pilgrimage. "It'll be more of a personal thing for me," he reflects. "I guess I'm willing to sacrifice some of the ethical things for a chance to stand on top of the world." Rüdiger Markman would have understood. ☐



PRESS

Another voice stilled

When a voice on the loudspeaker asked editorial employees of

Today magazine to gather for an announcement outside the headquarters of its offices in Toronto last week, none of them really had any doubts as to what they were about to hear. Rumors had been circulating for weeks that the weekend supplement, carried by 18 newspapers across the country, was on its last legs. In the past few months the magazine had grown so thin that staffers grimly joked that it was being treated for anorexia nervosa. That afternoon Paul Zimmerman, chairman of Today Magazine Inc. and president of Torstar Corp.—co-owners of Today along with Southern Inc. and Thomson Newspapers—confirmed the worst: the magazine, which had contained a 20-per-cent drop in advertising revenues, would publish its last issue Aug. 28, leaving 60 employees out of work. The shareholders had decided at a June 28 meeting that Today, despite its circulation of three million, would have to go.

Today had a brief and not quite illustrious career. It surfaced in March, 1983, the latest incarnation in what appeared to be a literary supplement game, replacing Canadian Weekend, which had, in turn, been the short-lived product of the merger of two competing supplements well known to Canadian newspaper readers, Weekend and The Canadian.

Although it had a top-quality staff and the promise of Publisher Gordon Page to provide "a completely new editorial thrust and focus," there was a general feeling in both the advertising and journalistic communities that Today had not lived up to that promise. Instead, the magazine offered a blend of light, bright and trite journalism that, at its worst, was nothing more than pruned News.

"Our advertisers choked," Zimmerman later told in an interview. It was no wonder: at a cost of \$40,000 for a full-page color advertisement, Today had the highest rates in the business—too high in a recessionary economy.

In the meantime Today staffers, armed with generous severance pay—a maximum of 12 weeks—started scrambling for jobs in a tight market. Particularly hard was Senior Editor Roy MacKinnon, who had left a comfortable government job in Ottawa and moved his family to Toronto "lock, stock and mortgage" only to find, two weeks after he started at Today, that he

was out of a job. "I took the job offer because I wanted to get back in the real world," he said ruefully.

Today's editor, Walter Stewart, reflected the feelings of most staffers when he said that he was not better toward the company. "They fought the good fight." He did grumble about the

efforts of the media community to prematurely bury the magazine, saying that rumors had negatively influenced advertisers. "You keep predicting an earthquake, you're gonna get one," he said glumly. And he bristled at the notion that quality—or lack thereof—had contributed to Today's demise. "At our best we were damn good." Stewart's main concern, however, was shared by journalists everywhere who have watched the economy ungloriously change the face of Canadian journalism: "Damn it, another voice has been stilled."

—JUDITH THORIN



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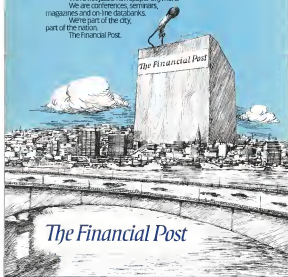
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EDUCATION

Home is where the school is

By Judy Shapiro

Fourteen-year-old Joel Black of Morley, Ont., finished Grade 7 with honors last year but could not score his multiplication tables past five times five and was unable to identify a noun or an adjective. So last fall his parents, Dale and Elvira Black, plucked Joel and his eleven-year-old sister, Suzanne, out of school in order to teach them at home. Now, equipped with visits from a neighboring home-schooling family, texts borrowed from the local school and a collection of Pierre Berton's books of Canadian history, their two children have successfully graduated, and the Blacks are already getting a head start on next year.

Acting on their dissatisfaction with both the private and public school systems, an estimated 1,000 families are tutoring their children at home year-round. They are determined. All must be willing to battle hostile school boards, skeptical friends and neighbors and, if necessary, the courts to defend their belief in educating their children as they see fit. Yet, though local skirmishes continue, there are signs of softening by some provincial education ministers in recognition of the validity of home schooling.

Charges that home education is detrimental to children fail to reflect practitioners, who are fond of pointing out that today's home-schooled children are in a flourishing company. Margaret Mead, the famous anthropologist, did not attend public school until she was 15. Thomas Edison was expelled at age 7, labeled retarded. The parents, in turn, that mainstream schools may be even more damaging to a child's mind. Darlene and Elbert Beckman, fundamentalist Christians who farm 40 km outside Drumheller, Alta., removed their children from school last September to spare them exposure to drugs and rock concerts. Edith Newman of Sooke, B.C., contends that the school system, with its abbreviated 9-to-3 schedule and its inability to tailor courses to individual needs, is a poor environment for learning. As a result, her three children, aged 10, 7 and 2, have never



A history class in the Black household using Berton texts

been to school.

Contrary to popular belief, it is not illegal to keep children out of school. Though every province requires compulsory attendance at school, provincial education acts exempt those children who are getting "satisfactory," "eff-

Parents are battling school boards, courts and neighbors for the right to educate their children at home

fective" or "equal" education elsewhere.

But no statute defines what a "satisfactory" education is. That is left to the discretion of each school board. Regulations are toughest in Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, New Scotia and Newfoundland, where a home study program must be certified by the local school inspector. Parents weary of

meeting approval have been known to move to more permissive provinces.

Such may be the spark of a court case last week in Moose Jaw, Sask., where Evangeline Gordon was fined \$25 by a provincial court for keeping three of her children out of school without board approval. Now coming on trial, Gordon had subpoenaed 30 other families in the area who teach their kids at home, but none testified. Gordon has now, her daughter claims, left the province entirely, in search of an environment more open to her brand of education.

In Ontario parents scored a victory with a 1979 court decision that found that in that province the onus is on the school board to prove that the parent is not providing an adequate alternative to public school.

Predictably, few education ministry officials across Canada are willing to admit that home schooling can offer a feasible alternative, and most are adamant about their mandate. Raylene Thompson, Alberta's director of field services "Parents have a responsibility

for their children, but the state has a responsibility to make sure there are home qualifications for attendance." However, provincial chambers of compulsory attendance can offer new hope to home educators. Education Minister David King announced last spring that the concept of compulsory attendance may be abandoned in favor of a provision for compulsory education. This would not release home schoolers from monitoring but could lift the tenuous label.

To satisfy school authorities, most parents at first tend to structure their children's education in a school-like manner. Some parents, such as Laura and Jack van Arragon of Atkinson, Ont., who have eight children, find that it is easiest to set up a one-room classroom complete with desks and a blackboard. In the Black household there are set times for school. The father, an associate professor of mathematics at Lakehead University, teaches math; the mother, history, science and geography; and the grandfather, who lives across the field, English language and gram-

Troika. A Caviar of Vodkas.

TROIKA
PREMIUM
VODKA

Distilled by Sotkiyev, St. Petersburg, Russia

war. Many of their studies follow regular school board texts or recognized courses from a number of North American sources. "We're not rigid about school," says Elvira Black. "Yesterday was a nice day, so we all played the garden. That's a learning experience too." For his part, Jeff is happy to be out of school. "I learn more, faster, because I'm not influenced by the speed of other kids."

As parents gain confidence in their methods, structure is often abandoned. There are no set hours or guidelines for 15-year-old Danny Williams of Thornhill. Alta life is left to his own devices and, unexpected when he shows an interest in something—an educational method experimented with in many free schools of the '60s. During the Iranian crisis, for example, his concern about nuclear war led him to read up on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, write essays for information regarding radiation from fallout, and eventually compile plans for a basement fallout shelter. Like most home-schooled children, his senior writes essays or tests. "Communication and emotional growth are as much more important than acquiring skills, so testing is useless," says his mother, Marlene Williams. Adds Wendy Presser, founder of the Canadian Alliance of Home Schoolers: "What we want for our children is for them to have the self-confidence to try anything."

Yet the most common argument against home schooling is that it isolates children from their peers. Frank Neudick, director of field services for the Manitoba Department of Education, argues, "We learn from one another by testing ideas; we widen our horizons by chatting with one another, even at an early age, and children in kind have that opportunity." Presser that children may be deprived of the opportunity to enter a profession or acquire adequate study habits also lead to widespread criticism. Leaving such objections are the Curtons of North Redwood, P.E.I., who, with 32 years of home schooling behind them, are proof that it can work. Among their 19 natural and adopted home-schooled children they count a doctor, a CIBC executive and a musician. The father, Mario Curton, however, favors a hybrid system—half a day at school and half a day at home, allowing input from peers, educators and parents. But he is adamant that families should not put their children in the hands of their children. "This [home schooling] is the most significant thing a family can do today," he says. "We're so powerless to shape the world—we can't do anything about government or business. The only place we're free to carry out a revolution is in our own homes."

With kids from Sharon Bergen.

CRIME

Sudden fear and loathing

By Susan Riley

The recent spate of brutal rape-murders in Toronto, the nine rapes that had Calgary terrorized this spring and random attacks in other Canadian cities this summer may be doing more to show us the sensitive issue of violence against women than being it into sharp focus.

The Toronto attacks in particular have given their lurid publicity about what were already chilling crimes. On May 26 police found the battered body of 19-year-old Jennifer Beckett, previously described as an "Argumentative cheerleader," in a lawn near her parents' suburban home. Three followed, over the next six weeks, fear other victims and, apparently, unsolicited attacks on young women—three of which ended in death. The students have touched off widespread fear and loathing in Toronto; more women are carrying keys in duffel bags, taking taxis instead of the subway, calling on male friends for escort service instead, while police and rape crisis centres argue over whether or not rape-murder is on the increase, most women remember only the grisly details in newspaper accounts. "party-house knifed around her neck," "head smashed with a brick," "nude body face down in river."

But the publicity has some feminists dismayed for other reasons. They say the alternative newspapers and national tone of most of the reporting—including a lachrymose editorial in the *Toronto Star* that described the victims as "a cheerleader, a nanny, a mother and a bride-to-be"—focuses the enormous relief that all victims of rape are young, attractive women. "The majority of women still think rape has something to do with sexual appeal," says Debbie Parent of the Toronto Rape Crisis Centre. "The idea is if you are young and attractive, you are somehow asking for it." In reality, she says, "very few women are innocent," citing the many calls the centre receives from



Angie Stone helping women girls against attack

women of all ages, shapes and sizes.

Some women are also concerned that the publicity, particularly in Toronto and Calgary, bolsters the idea that the typical rapist is, in the words of a Calgary policeman, "some creep who crawls out of the woodwork." In fact, says Denise Kistner, 27-year-old mother of a comprehensive study on rape for the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, only 25 per cent of rapes are committed by strangers. Police statistics confirm that most attacks come from friends, lovers, boyfriends and neighbors, so-called "acquaintance-ship rapes."

Toronto Deputy Police Chief Jack Marks says that despite the recent string of gruesome attacks on his city, rape-murders are not up this year over last. Kistner, however, argues from her study that "rapes are getting more violent," perhaps, she says, "because



Toronto victims, including Heidi Paretti (above left), talk about their "very few women are interested."

women are getting more uppity."

The flag flutters again as when it comes to the difficult question of what a woman should do if she is jumped.

Police forces differ in their approaches, but most are leery of the feminist claim that women should almost always try to fight back. Instead, the message—in Toronto's Women Alone pamphlet and Calgary's *Lady Reserve* program—is that women should avoid dangerous neighborhoods, public parks or going out alone at night. But such messages mean little when women read about a Toronto victim attacked in broad daylight and another in a quiet middle-class suburb. Most of the Calgary rapes involved blackouts. And, of course, there is no refuge other than the rapist is a boyfriend or a husband.

Staffers at rape crisis centres say it isn't fair to put the onus on women, the victims of the crime, to circumvent their lives in a way few men ever have to. "A common thing we hear women saying is, 'It's my fault,'" says Jane Miller of Vancouver Rape Relief. "We say, 'No, it's not your fault. You have a right to go to the laundromat, to go on a date, to be in this world.'" And women should fight for the right, she says.

Most rape crisis centres advocate self-defence courses—and there are signs women are listening more than ever. A recorded message at Toronto's *Women self-defence for women* crackles: "We have been swamped by calls and are setting up extra summer courses." And, in front of Toronto City Hall last week, New York director of the Guardian Angels, Gina Silva, is twice on a promotional tour, alerted a crowd of curious women with an encouraging demonstration: "The idea isn't to go to



rounds with the guy," she says, "it is to injure him, scare him, then run. Men won't expect you to fight back—you've got to surprise on your side."

Dianne Kinross maintains it is crucial that women drop their "be nice mentality" and get psychologically as well as physically tough. But Ade Fink, a Toronto city employee who watched last week's demonstration, says she doesn't know if she could ever bring herself to "kick a man when it hurts. Maybe it's because I was brought up in the '60s."

Calgary police Sergeant Stuart Still agrees with feminists that women shouldn't act like timid weaklings but, like many other policemen, he is afraid self-defence courses lead to over-confidence. "A woman shouldn't think she can take on some six-footer and make a meal out of him." But by playing up the dangers of resisting rape, feminists say police are fueling the myth that women are helpless and need boyfriends, cops or husbands to protect them. It's a "male protection racket," they charge.

Not surprisingly, this kind of statement makes police—and most law-abiding men—nervous and irritated. Most men still tend to think—with ample support from the psychiatric establishment—that rape is the twisted act of deviant loners. Feminists—particularly in rape crisis centres—argue that rape is a social and political problem, what they see as the most violent expression of men's all-pervasive power over women. "Rape is an all class and class," says Kinross, who discovered in her study "there is a particular kind of man who doesn't rape."

The radical rhetoric in many rape crisis centres often leads to charges that they are staffed by male-hating bunnies more interested in generalizing than comforting. It may partly explain why Vancouver Rape Relief (VRR) and four other B.C. rape centres all had their provincial funding cut in February. (Last week the B.C. government announced a \$225,000 grant to a number of new rape crisis groups that have applied.) VRR was no friends in cabinet with its reluctance to work closely with police, the medical establishment or the legal system.

The centre believes, like Debbie Threlkott, that "there is a luxury in the legal system which not only endorses rape, but encourages it." To back that loaded charge, Parvati costs the low construction rate for rape—figures vary from two to 60 per cent—and the short prison terms given most rapists (an average two to three years, according to Kinross's study). And to get a conviction, says Paretti, most women still have to go through the humiliating ordeal of proving their own innocence.

While the debate rages on in Vancouver, Toronto and Calgary, the tiny talk of rape is often just a minor concern within the serene confines of a meeting room, where 80 parliamentarians are discussing a new sexual offences act, elements of which were first proposed five years ago. But such controversy is obvious these days that the bill—aimed at redefining rape as a violent assault rather than a sexual act—may die on the order papers once again or, at best, survive in a revised form.

Little wonder impatient women are protesting louder actions in Toronto's largest Take Back the Night march is planned for this week in the east-end neighborhood where 20-year-old Judy Anne DeLisle's strangled body was recently discovered. In Vancouver, feminists have run newspaper ads describing suspected rapists and warning women away from certain areas. And there are poster campaigns, like the one that popped up in a Vancouver neighborhood a while ago. The poster showed a pistol and bore the legend, **YOU CAN'T RAPE A 38**.

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Many are drinking while Edmonton weekend vacationers (right) pile down cattle

RECREATION

Holidays on the range

In sun-kissed fields, faded jeans and bare legs, kid, Murray Cayley, 42, mystifies the cowboy as he catches the bulky horse, carries him and saddles up for a ride through the Alberta foothills. Here at The Horseplace ranch, a horse ranch about 30 km south-west of Calgary, he looks as if he could have been horse-herding all his life. But in the real world, Cayley is the bookend manager of Envo Petroleum Canada's Fortovis-based marketing research department.

The thrill of dusty weekends spent roping and herding cattle and racing after forage with the hands has attracted a growing number of Canadians such as Cayley to vacation on working ranches. Visits increased by 18 per cent from 1988 to 1991, and ranches that offer such accommodations have grown to 50 in Alberta and 18 in British Columbia. Tourist officials attribute the new popularity of the ranch vacation to in part to the decline of the Canadian dollar overseas. Even for Canadians, the all-inclusive daily rates of \$64 to \$85 make the ranch getaway a bargain.

Unlike the dude ranch, which operates strictly as a tourist venture, the working ranch allows holidaygoers to share in ranch chores—duties as innocuous as buying. According to Cayley, there is no comparison. "Dude ranches are too commercialized, with people running around playing at being cowboys."

While Alberta and BC ranches are the most frequent weekend visitors, travel operators claim that both the romance of cowboy life and the faded western hospitality have lured the Ca-

nadian and international tourists. Quebec hard-rockers have shared celebratory debuts with U.S. A-listers. Every Commission playmate at the Flying II, a ranch near 20 Mile House in British Columbia's Cariboo region, regular visitors had from some 27 countries. "And we even got groups from the Puy Fauten Horsemen's Club of Tokyo, Japan," boasts owner Ron Friesen. Ranches vary in capacity from 10 beds at The Horseplace to 46 at the new Top of the World Ranch, near Fort Steele, B.C., and 68 at the Flying II. Some remain open year-round, such as The Top of the World, which offers access to great downhill ski areas in the nearby Kimberley-Cranbrook area. Although spreads may be as small as 160 acres, leased grazing and grazing rights to Crown lands provide access to thousands of acres of picturesque forests, foothills and mountains.

If profit was the only motivation for opening their homes to city folk, ranchers agree that they would be better off investing in other businesses. None of them would deny that guests help subsidize the ranches, but the overhead is high. A small operation like The Horseplace relied for its initial \$550,000 investment with \$28,000 annual operating costs. "And in the peak period it takes five people, besides myself and partner, to run the place," says Mac Murray. Yet Cayley, who has returned to the ranch 20 times in two years and boards his horse there, has come to depend on his ranch escape. "It's a place where I come to shed my three-piece suit and the person that goes with it."

—DAVE GRUBER

MEDICINE

A dialysis booster

Earl Derrit logs 16 hours a week hooked up to a dialysis machine, which clears poisonous wastes from his body. It's not in his mind-forging kidneys like many of Canada's 3,000 dialysis patients, the 32-year-old Toronto accountant fights hard to prevent the machine from ruining his life. But he admits it is restricting. "I can only have half a week's activities." Now Derrit can look forward to drastically reducing the time he spends on the machine, thanks to a new artificial kidney device developed by Dr. Thomas Hardy at McGill University in Montreal. Once final clinical trials are complete, patients can begin the new treatment, perhaps within the year.

The single innovative component of the system is small and unassuming: a disposable 38-cm cylinder attached to the dialysis machine. Packed into the cylinder are thousands of synthetically produced artificial cells which can soak up the body's waste products. Each cell, containing absorbent activated charcoal, is enveloped by an ultra-thin semipermeable membrane. The cells improve upon the standard dialysis treatment in which blood filters through a single cylindrical membrane surrounded by a purifying solution, then returns to the body. Cheng contends that the traditional equipment is still needed to eliminate most blood waste, something an artificial cell cannot do. But he predicts the \$50-outpatient will cut the usual treatment time down to 2½-hour bouts, thus saving money for hospitals whose dialysis costs now reach as high as \$40,000 per patient per year.

The device is the latest in a long line of breakthroughs based on artificial-cell technology. As a student in the 1950s, Cheng hit upon the idea of producing artificial cells. "I'm a hobbyist. I tried it out, and, luckily for me, it worked." Lucky for patients around the world, too. Since then Cheng has connected multiple varieties of cells to combat such difficult-to-treat medical problems as diabetes and liver disease. After a generally sluggish response to his work from the medical industry, Cheng is now heartened that his research will be more widely developed. "After all, the cell is the most basic building block in the body, and the artificial cell could play a role in healing most human tissue."

—MARY MACINTYRE

BOOKS

Honoring the imagination

THOMAS HARDY
by Michael Milgate
(London House, \$22.95, 637 pages)

"What has Providence done to Mr. Hardy that he should rise up in the stable land of Wessex and shake his fat at his Creator?" The question, posed by Hardy's friend Edmund Gosse, somehow stands behind most of the research that has proliferated since his death in 1928 at the age of 97. His novels are popular for their detailed evocation of an England not yet beleaguered by the industrial revolution, yet his view of the universe was unrelentingly gloomy. In recent years some have claimed that Hardy's anguish can be traced to the endorsed breakup of an intense affair with a long-haired countess who may have borne him a child. Michael Milgate's authoritative new biography trends such rumors gently yet firmly into the ground. It shows realistically that emotional disappointments and a loss of religious faith merely reinforced the peasant's fatalism of Hardy's upbringing. Much of the savage power of his fiction sprang from his intuitive sense that providence would never relieve us suffering. Misery never surprised him; his imagination fed on grief like everyone else. Hardy could be arrogant, selfish and thoughtless too, unlike others, he never ceased to shake his fat at his situation.

He was born in 1840 in the pastoral center of Dorset, centre of the region he was to celebrate as "Wessex." For 26 years he worked as a surveyor, pouring out a stream of painstaking yet clear-sighted tales about Wessex life. (Far from the Meddler Ground, Tem of the D'Urbervilles and many more), they gave increasingly fierce expressions to his belief that human consciousness was an unfortunate mistake in a purposeless, amoral world. Novelists it may come as a shock to see the familiarity that brought him this last novel, *Jude the Obscure*, was greeted by London critics with reviews entitled "Hardy the Dissembler" and "Jude the Obscure." His polemical attacks on marriage and his apparent relish in despair offended many readers even more than his usual frankness about sex. Angered by the reception, Hardy devoted the final third of his life to his first love, poetry—thus giving him a major, unusual place in literary history as both a Victorian novelist and a modern poet.

A professor of English at the University of Toronto, Milgate writes with an

unrivaled knowledge of Hardy's work, in the course of Thomas Hardy he refers to more than 800 of the poems. What impresses in his fairness, his calm assessment of a multitude of evidence. His discussion tends to show Hardy in a more sympathetic light than has recently been the fashion. The highly ac-

claimed two-volume biography by Robert Gittings, published in the '70s, portrayed a writer of wild cruelty. It is this emphasis that Milgate is constantly, subtly, at pains to overthrow. The difference in approach can best be seen in their accounts of the painful death of Hardy's first wife, Emma, which provoked a small flood of masterly poems written in self-reproach. Long accustomed to her loose grip on sanity, he hardly seemed to notice that she was also suffering from attacks of agnosia and extreme back pain which made her life a nightmare. Gittings accuses

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Hardy of "his indifference to a suffering human being and as actual physical angles were situated virtually to a crane." Milgate, by contrast, a nihilism of the blame for Emma's mental instability and supports his assertion that her death came as a complete surprise. Even if Hardy's conduct fell short of being admirable, Milgate refuses to see it as malignant. This may be less sensational than the alternative, but it is also more persuasive.

In the end, the latest literary biographies are those that do honor to the creative imagination. As the poet John Keats remarked: "They are very shallow people who take everything literal. A man's life of any worth is a continual allegory—and very few eyes can see the mystery of his life." The long life of Thomas Hardy can be seen in many ways, according to the prejudices of the reader: as a moral tale of industry, as a sad fable about unhappy marriage, as a case study of the massive changes in English thought, or as evidence of the transforming power of art. Whatever attitude is taken, Milgate's discerning prose provides an indispensable guide. With few other great writers was the relation between life and work so intimate and so direct. Clearing through the underbrush of Hardy's tangled years, Milgate never violates the integrity of the novels and poems which alone can justify his labor, he remains alert to Hardy's mysterious influences as well as to his love for life and his own. The best proof of this self-effacing triumph is that one closes the book, eager to reread Thomas Hardy.

—MALE ASLEY

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 The Farthest Shore, Latham (1)
- 2 The Man From St. Petersburg, Foster (2)
- 3 The One Year, Doubtless (1)
- 4 Montpelier-Gatineau, Greene (7)
- 5 Not Comprehend, Farquhar (2)
- 6 The Prohibited Daughter, Dreher (1)
- 7 Eden Reborn, Alton
- 8 An Endless Obsession, McLaughlin (1)
- 9 Friday, Brecken (1)
- 10 North and South, Adams (1)

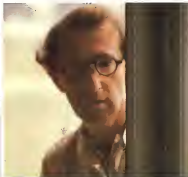
Nonfiction

- 1 Jean Frenck's Workout Book, Frenck (1)
- 2 The Great Code, Frye (2)
- 3 Picasso, Leary
- 4 Years of Upheaval, Kavanagh (2)
- 5 The Uppies Struggle Back, Lawrence and Fisher (1)
- 6 The Fate of the Earth, Bell (1)
- 7 The Holy Blood and the Holy Grail, Baigent, Leigh and Lincoln (2)
- 8 Living, Loving & Learning, Thompson (1)
- 9 Life on Earth, Attenborough (1)
- 10 Canada with Love, Monk (1)

(1) Fiction best-seller

FILMS

Guilt and sexual panic on a summer's night



Allen, like a third cousin with an arsenal of increasingly impoverished jokes

A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S SEX COMEDY Directed by Woody Allen

Is *A Midsummer Night's Sex Comedy*, Wood Allen's latest, a comedy? It is Shakespeare, Jean Renoir and Ingmar Bergman. At best, he comes up with a mildly amusing conceit. This time around it's the lovers-in-the-children genre, displaced under the moonlight with talk of sperm, and a few guys thrown in for good measure. A feisty professor named Leopold (Jose Ferrer) and his bride-to-be, Ariel (Mia Farrow), are invited to a country house for the weekend as guests of Andrew, "a crackpot inventor" (Woody Allen) and his wife, Adrian (Mary Steenburgen). Things aren't going as well in Andrew and Adrian's marriage bed, although the film is set in 1906, they talk seriously, intensely, about the problem as if such has just returned from a modern analyst's office. Andrew was stuck on Ariel a long time ago, Ariel is not so stuck on Leopold. Matters are furiously complicated with the arrival of a doctor friend, Maxwell (Tony Roberts), and his

nurse, Daisy (Jodie Haggerty), who is also his date. Maxwell has previously slept with Adrian, and Leopold has a hankering for Daisy, who is willing to be free-spirited with anybody at all. The romantic mix-up, beautifully shot in the appropriate vision given by cinematographer Gordon Willis, is so fluffy observed that the total effect is irritatingly inconsequential. *A Midsummer Night's Sex Comedy* does not have the giddy logical plot of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the alternating depth and lightheartedness of Bergman's *Smiles of a Summer Night* or the dark overtones of Herne's *Shadows of the Golem*. By privileging to all three, the film merely exposes how artificial it is.

There is an ardent pretentiousness in such an enterprise, which becomes even more unpalatable when viewed in the context of Woody Allen's career. After the self-exorcised and better shared *Moonstruck*, his new movie seems a return to "classical" style. But how can a style be classical if one of the main characters is Woody Allen, whining away about his guilt and sexual panic? Except for Ferrer's (which has been

wrangly decided as derivative and may well be his best film), Allen has appeared in all his movies. The persona has become too much of a handle—like a third person who shows up each year with an arsenal of increasingly impoverished jokes. The women in his films—and the three here are no exceptions—are treated too much as objects of cynical charm. *Sex Comedy* is haunted by the ghost of Diana Keaton. And there still is, of course, the Allen alter ego and eccentric all rolled into one in the Tony Roberts character: the sexual power-trick who goes Allen type on to become a better lover and whose lack is eternally frustrating to the little red-haired guy with glasses. *Sex Comedy* seems one last vulgar production. It's a pity, since all the actors are attentive, accomplished and worthy of better.

There was a time when Allen's writing, though erratic, was genuinely funnier (Bresson) and also had an edge (*Annie Hall*). The writing in *Sex Comedy* is certainly more mature, but the more it can inspire in a lover or two. When Tony Roberts professes that "marriage is the death of love," it's a standard Allen bon mot—and not bad either—but it is repeated three times and loses substance with every use. And in the first place, his writing has softened, so has his filmic style. In *Annie Hall*, *Interiors* and *Moonstruck* there was a sense (and a somewhat satisfying one) of a director experimenting with his medium, you wonder what his pleasures *Sex Comedy* could possibly have without the contribution of Willis. The best Allen can realize here is to have a character speak to another off-screen or have both talking off-camera, a play repeated from *Manhattan*.

Transforming the word—and vocabulary—of present-day psychoanalysis, and indeed *Moonstruck*, back to the beginning of the century results in dreary repetition of the same old conceits. *A Midsummer Night's Sex Comedy* adds weight to the theory that Woody Allen's movies are actually made by his analyst, or at the very least controlled by him. Frenck and Jung must be smiling down upon Woody Allen's summer night, as they don't go to pieces.

—LAURENCE O'TOOLE

Brief encounters

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Entertaining the two solitudes

When a theatre's lifeblood stops flowing for a year, recovery is often difficult if not impossible. However, after closing its doors in 1989 because of a \$100,000 deficit, Festival Lennoxville in Quebec's Capitale Nouvelle is fighting back to celebrate its 10th anniversary season. Traditionally a showcase for English-Canadian plays, the festival has earned with a fresh mandate to reach new audiences by mounting French works as well. The theatre's possible extinction reflects the continuing crisis of the English in Quebec with the closing of such influential institutions as Montreal's Soggy Woodman theatre, the closure of Lennoxville would be yet another nail in the Anglo coffin. The bilingual route may, therefore, be the only choice if anglophone culture is to survive in Quebec.

If the standing ovations at the opening performances early this month and advance ticket sales of 10,000 (toward a minimum objective of 20,000) are any indication, the festival may survive yet. Scott Swain, appointed last November as Lennoxville's first full-time artistic director, welcomes the challenges. "It's a sucker for the underdog—the real joy is an institution like this is building it."

Determined to inject a festive atmosphere into what has usually been a serious summer recovery season, Swain started off this year with an invitational performance of Jean-Pierre Ruel's epic play cycle *Les 100 ans de nos ancêtres*. Ruel's troupe led the audience around the beautiful Bishop's University campus where the festival is staged, presenting six plays in 10 hours. While clones awaited to the strains of a brass band, the audience was also treated to lunch and dinner prepared by the Lennoxville company.

The second performance offering is a new play by renowned Acadian novelist and playwright Antoine Maillet, *Le japonais arrive*, a one-woman show with seven characters interpreted by the equally famous Acadian actress Yvelle Lévesque. For bilingual audiences, Lévesque will also present the English version of Maillet's *Le Japonais*, which she has

translated into a one-woman crusade for better understanding between the national solitudes.

Even with this radical ramp, some Canadian theatre professionals fear that closing Lennoxville would be no great loss. Bilingualism and multiculturalism may suit a "wonderful 19th-century liberal idea of Canada," according to former Canada Council theatre officer Walter Learning, but a political policy does not always meet artistic and professional standards. These requirements were harshly underlined in late March when the council initially rejected the festival's application for a grant of \$125,000. A grudging \$80,000 was

says Robert Seelinger, president of the board of directors. "These everybody would go to sleep for the winter and forget about the deficit." The board itself has been updated with the appointment of two francophone members. Swain is anxious to make Lennoxville a focus for the local anglophone and francophone populations, just as southwestern Ontario's 10th Summer Festival flourishes by growing top-quality Canadian theatre in the risk and of community support. The hiring of Ruel's former administrator, Janet Dyck, is a step in this direction.

Lennoxville's trump card has always been high-calibre productions, and this year is no exception. The anglophone season opened with W.O. Mitchell's *The Kid*, directed by Thomas Pasatun and featuring Wally McElwain in a superlative performance as the 117-year-old Prairie curmudgeon who sends his family into a tailspin by announcing his death day. Guido Tondino's abstract set and huge slides interfere with this play's narrative medium but perfectly suit John Watrell's *Waiting for the Parade*, directed by Swain and starring several actresses from his former company at Edmonton's Northern Light Theatre. A difficult atmosphere

about women on the home front during the Second World War, Pasatun can even suggest that each character is encouraged to exist between the lines, however, Agnès Cohen and Angela Gass, in particular, responded to Swain's sensitive direction.

Swain's artistic record in top-notch, and his production of *Witness* was awarded nationwide two years ago. But Northern Light had a tendency to concentrate revenues while reaching for the artistic sky on minimal resources, which did not endear it to the council. Swain makes no apologies, however. "I'm not interested in polite little projects," he says. The board, too, is willing to take risks and feels his dynamism is what the festival needs in a make-or-break year. If revenue enthusiasm and artistic goodwill are at all important to successful theatre, Lennoxville has more than an even chance for recovery. —MARK CHAPMAN



Glenn and Michelle Goodguy in "Parade," Lennoxville theatre showcase



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The diminution of the dominion

By Dalton Camp

We have reached the zenith of our period of indifference. (Please hold your applause.) We have our very own flag, which our numbered Canadians did not want and still don't like; we have our very own national anthem, the words of which most of our citizens do not know; we have our own Constitution, which, God knows, a goodly number of Canadians did not want; we also have two official languages, one of which in some provinces may not be displayed on billboards,

community, including the youth, and created the official printed version of *O Canada* throughout the rubber-stamp circuit. Canadians still do not know the words, they love, scratch, yet to get the hang of it, of being as Canadian as their masters would like. The strong possibility exists that they never will.

Having lived through this Canadianization period when the determined resolve of our political leaders was matched only by the sturdy resistance of their constituents, I am rounding on the view that the total effort has been

much as a pool ball without tables, as good a place as any to wait out hard times. As for the Bank of Canada, it's simply killing us.

The recent expurgation of Dominion Day from the calendar represents only the small triumph of a few small minds. Although the achievements, if such they were, of a flag, an anthem and a printed Constitution were arrived at after full debate and in full public view, this last was done by stealth. What averts the consciousness of both those who care deeply and those who don't about the substance of this issue is that only in Canada could a word that has survived for 115 years be expunged in five minutes or, of all places, the House of Commons, supposedly the ultimate sanctuary against arbitrary measures and pre-emptive strikes upon our national traditions.

Politico Martin Goldfarb claims to have discovered a "new kind of fear psychology" in Canadians, which he attributes to present economic conditions. That may well be, things being as they are. But Canadians have also become increasingly wary of their government and their political institutions, and not without cause.

One of the country's most under-valued and suspect institutions is the Canadian Senate. It would be a salutary event, to say the least, if the senators could raise themselves to send the Canada Day bill back to the House for the further contemplation of the honorable members. It would also be consistent with the traditional procedure for changing our Canadian traditions without a fair fight. It would measure the rest of us that channery and connivance had not now become the accepted way of doing things.

Being Canadian, as we've come to understand it, means being as Canadian as one likes. While John Diefenbaker braved at the concept of dual service, his own version of *O Canada* was no improvement. After some 50 years of prodding from our politicians to rally round the flag, Canadians remain largely unchanged and unmoved, not that we don't know who we are—they don't.

counterproductive the more things they change, the more we remain the same, if not more so. Nor is this simply the phenomenon of our psychic inability to comprehend ourselves as Canadians, as identified by our symbols and trappings; it has also been confirmed by recent experience: call it Canadian and it turns on you.

Having converted the Royal Mail to Canada Post, that venerable institution has become a poster, delivering ultimata as regularly as the mail. Air Canada, formerly TCA, has become less the people's airline and more the private carrier of our federal public employees (some 30,000 of them horse-draft in May, the most recent month as reported). Radio Canada, according to the government that funds it, has been overtaken by separatists. What used to be a competent Dominion Bureau of Statistics is today a veritable Cassandra of the stoves called Statistic Canada, a reflection purveyor of bad news. Canada Manpower resembles nothing so



The most spontaneous demonstration of public enthusiasm witnessed at the recorded history of Canada's largest metropolitan area—Toronto—was on the recent occasion of the victory of a soccer team from Italy over a team from West Germany in a match played in Spain. The largest crowd to attend a single sporting event in Canada this year is likely to have been to Montreal last week on the occasion of an alleged all-star game—some of baseball—in which none of the participants was Canadian.

The principal characteristic of year average Canadian might appear to be a natural reluctance to own up to it. The stubborn territoriality in the Canadian psyche leads it to reject patriotism as though it were an alien substance, has baffled and bled successive generations of Liberal prime ministers, from Mackenzie King down to P.S. Trudeau, all of whom have manfully attempted to root it out. But, while they have succeeded in deleting the word "Royal" from nearly everything except the pudding, pouring the word "Dominion" from common usage, distributed Canadian flags and lapel pins with anachronous and to the multicultural

James Camp is a syndicated columnist. Allen Patterman is an artist.



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